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Looking down on Nalbandian Street in Erevan, with Mt. Ararat in the distant background, thirty-seven miles away.

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ARMENIA
Reborn

Aznakian

By
CHARLES A. VERTANES

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THE ARMENIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL
OF AMERICA

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To the Memory of

WOODROW WILSON

The Great American President

and Champion

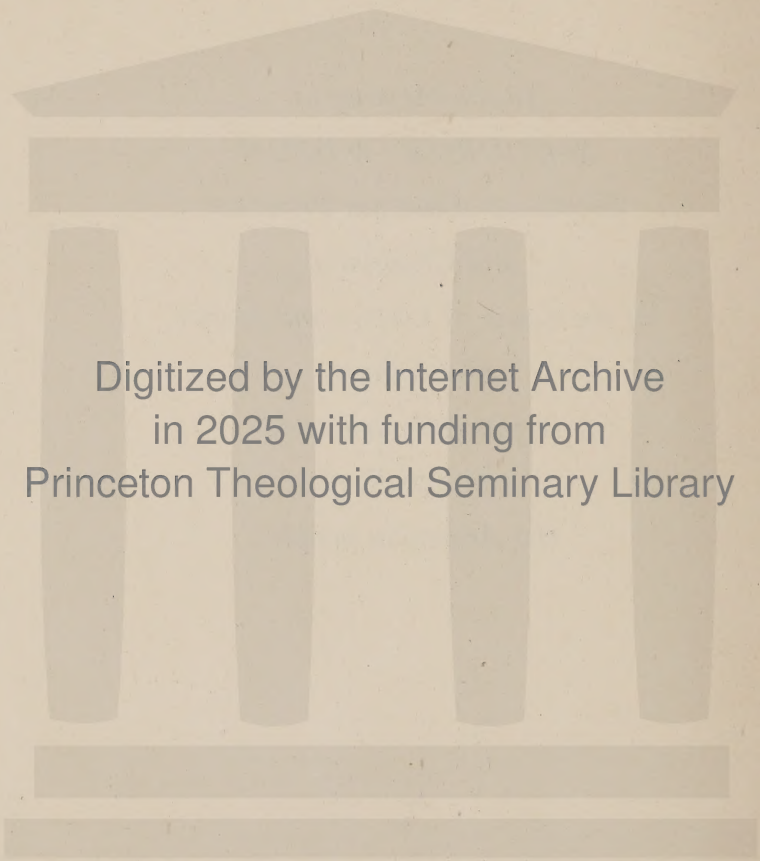
of the Cause of Liberty and Justice

this volume

is gratefully dedicated

on behalf of

the Armenian people


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"At last this great people, struggling through night after night of terror, knowing not what day would see their land stained with blood, are now given a promise of safety, a promise of justice, a possibility that they may come out into a time when they can enjoy their own rights as free people, as they never dreamed they would be able to exercise them before."

—Woodrow Wilson, *War and Peace, Presidential Messages, Addresses, and Public Papers, 1917-1924*, edited by Ray Stannard Baker and William E. Dodd, New York and London, 1927, Vol. II, p. 359.

Preface

ARMENIA REBORN is one of the projects initiated by the Armenian National Council of America on the occasion of the anniversary of the Armenian Republic. It tells, against the background of the venerable and tragic history of the Armenian people, the magnificent achievements of the Republic during the short span of twenty-six years of peace and war, and concludes with a brief account of the present status of the Armenian Question. Obviously it does not deal exhaustively with the subject, but it does attempt to give a well rounded picture of it.

It is hoped that the value of ARMENIA REBORN is increased for the general reader by the inclusion in it of over seventy-five beautiful illustrations of old and new Armenia; text of the documentary letter of President Woodrow Wilson to the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers, delineating the boundary between Armenia and Turkey; copy of the official map of the Wilson award, with President Wilson's seal on it; text of the Memorandum of the Armenian National Council of America to the United Nations Conference on International Organization in San Francisco; a brief history of the Armenian National Council of America and affiliated organizations; a selected bibliography of English, French and German works on Armenia and the Armenians published since 1919.

ARMENIA REBORN is offered to Americans and English speaking peoples in the hope that they will come to appreciate the ancient and rich background of the Armenian people, grasp the imposing significance of the past twenty-six years of the Armenian Republic in Armenian history, and understand the course the Armenian Question is beginning to take in the present international situation. If this hope is even partly realized, all the effort that has gone into the preparation and publication of this book will be fully justified.

ARMENIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA

Introduction

From my very dim memories of early childhood a face emerges which I shall always associate with kindness. "Klem" we called him, with that affectionate respect which childhood reserves for those who treat children like people. Klem, whose real name was Kalemjian, was an Armenian.

I remember that at first I thought an Armenian was a kind of Indian. The dark hair and eyes and the swarthy skin together with the strange sounding name were probably responsible for the impression. Then one day my father explained to me who the Armenians were. He told me about the massacres of 1894-5, of how Klem's father and mother and his brothers and sisters had been killed and of how Klem had come to America to study for the Christian ministry that he might help to teach the world the gospel of love. Klem was the hero of our childhood.

The Armenians are a heroic people among the peoples of the world. No other people have endured persecution for so long a time. No other people have been more true to the Christian faith in the face of almost unremitting suffering. And no people have been more cruelly let down than were the Armenians in the years following the first World War.

Although a million of them, men, women and children, were slaughtered by the Turks and a million and a half were scattered as refugees, 200,000 Armenian soldiers fought on for the Allies after Russia had collapsed in 1917. It was these Armenians who held Baku safe from the Turks and thus, as von Ludendorf avowed, contributed largely to the defeat of the German armies by cutting off their fuel supply.

One after another, Wilson, Clemenceau and Lloyd George, Briand and Balfour, the British House of Commons, the Italian Chamber of Deputies, the Senate of the United States and even Senator Lodge, who introduced a resolution, declared that Armenian lands should be restored and Armenia should be free. On

August 10, 1920 at Sevres, Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Roumania and Czechoslovakia on the one part, and Turkey on the other signed a Treaty agreeing to recognize such boundaries for restoration as President Wilson should adjudicate.

Faithfully President Wilson fulfilled his commission but, not only were the lands never restored because the treaty was allowed to become a dead letter, but the Turks went on to seize Kars and Ardahan, massacring their population and confiscating the property of those they slew or evicted.

Thus Turkey, defeated with her partner Germany—Turkey, which had committed atrocities only to be matched in extent and quality by a Genghis Khan and a Hitler—was left in possession of nine tenths of Armenia.

After a lingering period of continued relief into which the Churches of America poured millions of dollars, and after the tapering off of the angry protests of leaders throughout American public life, Armenia became a forgotten issue to the Western World.

Quietly the little remnant, the one tenth of Armenia that remained with its less than a million people, in order to escape from further Turkish rapacity, sought and found haven as one of the Union of Soviet Republics. As this book gives incontrovertible evidence, in subsequent years this little land with its brave people has found a freedom and a material and cultural prosperity unprecedented in Armenian experience.

Meantime the refugees, spread across the earth, have in other countries, as in America, made of themselves exceptionally desirable citizens. They have enriched American culture. They have contributed greatly to civic life, and they have been law abiding.

If ever the Christian Church was obligated to espouse the cause of a people, it is the cause of the Armenians. Both justice and the brotherhood of Christian faith demand it.

Armenia is also a supreme test of the sincerity of American Foreign Policy. Professedly throughout the world we are the

advocates of justice and of the right of minorities to self determination. As these words are written the papers are telling of our concern for free elections in Roumania. Beyond argument justice demands the restoration to the Armenian people of at least those lands included in the Wilson demarcation. Self determination demands that the Armenian people shall decide as to the future of those lands, even if, as seem evident, the Armenian people around the world, of whom the majority are not communists, desire with remarkable unanimity that the restored lands become part of the Armenian Republic.

To oppose such justice and such self determination is to declare that political expediency is the real purpose of our policy. It is a blind expediency that defies justice in a God-ordered world.

The judgment of the Western World, of the United States and Britain, and France and of many other nations, was unanimous before Soviet Russia emerged as a great State. But that judgment was never executed. Turkey, the despoiler, was left in possession of her ill gotten gains.

Now through the United States the means for establishing this long overdue justice exists. Would to God that the United States would plead the cause of the Armenians before the United Nations and that the Christians of America would move the national conscience to action.

America needs this book by Mr. Vertanes, who is a Christian minister and not a communist, that it may have its memory refreshed as to old facts and its mind introduced to new ones for its own sake, for Armenia's sake and for humanity's.

ROBERT W. SEARLE

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"And God remembered Noah . . . and the Ark rested in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat."—*Genesis viii, 4*

Chapter One [1]

Since Time Immemorial

Land of Mountains, Lakes and Rare Beauty

Armenia is a land of bewildering natural features and rare beauty. The Euphrates, "the good and abounding river," as the original Greek word signifies, is the longest and most important stream in western Asia. The greater of the twin peaks of Ararat, rising 16,969 feet above the surrounding plain, is as such the highest mountain in the world. Lake Sevan is the highest of the great lakes of the old world.

The beautiful and unique landscape of the Armenian Highland includes fantastic crags, ponderous massive tufas and extinct volcanoes. Its mountains with their white summits partly lost in the clouds bear down on the plains below, while the blue glint of their glaciers pierce the sky above. Its clamorous rivers emerging from deep canyons in the mountains make their way in picturesque gorges to irrigate the land and quench the thirst of man. Its great lakes, thousands of feet above sea level, with their vast expanse of waters, are really inland seas.

Armenia is also a land of rich mineral resources; of dense forests with virgin timber and plenteous game; of great stretches of fertile land, yielding abundant crops, and sustaining large herds of cattle and horses. There are unmistakable signs—geological and paleontological—that in early historic times there was much heavier rainfall in Armenia than now.

[1] Some of the material in this chapter, especially pages 4 and 5 appears for the first time in this country. It is based on the work, in Armenian, entitled, *The History of the Armenian People,* Part One, "From Most Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century," by Benjamin Harutunian, Khachik Samuelian, Hamo Harutunian, Serob Poghosian. Publication of Armfan, Erevan, 1943, 271 pp.

The Destinies of the People and Geography

The destinies of the people who have inhabited this land of unequalled beauty and natural wealth have been sadly affected by a vulnerable geography, rugged physical features, and a severe climate. Lying at a strategic point on the borders of Europe and Asia, with commercial routes and military roads running through her heart, Armenia has been an irresistible prize for whose possession nations have contended from the remote past.

On the one hand, the lofty mountain ranges, the impetuous torrents, and the wide and unwieldly streams dividing the country into many isolated districts inaccessible to each other, have rendered national unity difficult. On the other hand, the rugged and forbidding hillsides have bred hardy mountaineers who have ever been jealous of their independence and have never yielded to defeat.

Within this political, social and psychological framework, created by a strategic location and a gnarled surface, the drama of Armenian history has been projected against the rise and fall of world empires. The annals of Armenia are filled with records of invasions, raids, bloodshed, subjection, plunder, laying waste of the countryside, razing of towns and cities, revolts, rebellions, movements for independence, wars of self-defense, campaigns of conquest—all the manifestations of a people determined to live its own life and forge its own destiny amidst most trying circumstances.

Legendary and Historical Beginnings

The many legendary and historical references in the Bible, beginning with the second chapter of Genesis, to Euphrates, Ararat, Armenia, Minni, Ashkenaz and Togormah indicate how far back the venerable and tragic history of Armenia and the Armenian people starts. It is not surprising that there should be such early references to these geographical places and ethnic groups when you consider that the general region with which these names are associated is regarded as the cradle of civilization.



View of a valley of the Zanga River, 4000 feet above sea level, where Arzni, the workers' health resort, is located.



On the road to Gerusi, beautiful health resort of Soviet Armenia.

Recent discoveries of stone and bone implements indicate that before the dawn of written history, Armenia was inhabited by paleolithic and neolithic peoples.

The first mention of Armenia, in history as such, is in an inscription of Sargon I of Agade, Babylonia, around 3800 B.C.

The Surabis, the Mitannis and the Nairis

During the third millenium the region of southern Armenia and northern Mesopotamia was occupied by the Surabis. These people possessed a highly developed culture and a powerful state, and were at constant war with the Accadians and Hittites.

About the beginning of the 18th century B.C., the Surabis gave way to the Mitannis, who extended their power as far west as northern Syria. Situated on the commercial routes of the then civilized world, they were always at war with the Babylonians, Assyrians, and Hittites of Asia Minor.

After the fall of the Mitannis, the peoples of Armenia appear in the Assyrian inscriptions of the 15th century B.C. as the Nairis. They were often in alliance with the Hittite empire of Boghas-Keui. They carried on organized attacks on the northern boundaries of Assyria. The Assyrian monarchs, on their part, tried hard to overcome them. The Nairis engaged in agriculture, stock breeding, mining, metallurgy, and industry.

The Urartians

Between the 9th and 8th centuries B.C., the Urartians, one of the peoples of the Nairis, secured the hegemony in the land and became a formidable foe of the Assyrians. The struggle between these two mighty peoples lasted for three hundred years, and ended in the downfall of both.

For almost seventy years at the beginning of this struggle, the kings of Urartu captured many strongholds in northern Assyria and in many ways vexed the Assyrian kings. They expanded in many directions, built many fortified cities, and summoned against Assyria a coalition of the states of western Asia.

Toward the beginning of the 6th century B.C., however, the Urartian state shrank to its former boundaries around Lake Van, then vanished from history, first under the blows of the Assyrian kings, then of the Cimmerians, still later of the Scythians, and finally of Media in 585 B.C. But Urartu did not go down without first having taken part in the destruction of Nineveh in 606 B.C.

The economy of the Urartians was the same as that of the Nairis. Irrigation canals constituted the basis of their agriculture. Manuas, the mightiest and most successful of their rulers, built an aqueduct more than forty-five miles in length, which irrigates the plain of Van to this day, and brings drinking water to the eastern shores of Lake Van.

The Urartians had a well developed industry for their day. They gave first place to metallurgy. Next in importance was the art of the goldsmith and silversmith. Important also were pottery, the building trades and masonry. The city of Van was famed for its splendid irrigation system, gigantic fortifications and impressive temples. Under its kings, Assyrian cuneiform characters were introduced, and the Assyrian syllabary adapted to the Urartian language.

The Modern Armenians

In the seventh century B.C., a new ethnic group known as the Armens came from the west and spread in the region which later came to be known as Armenia Minor. Beginning with the end of that century, they moved further east to the Armenian highlands, and settled chiefly within the former territory of Urartu. Here they mingled with the many local peoples and races, formed the present Armenian ethnic type, and developed the historical and contemporary dialects of the Armenian language.

The political state which the Armens founded oscillated for a while between weakness and strength. Darius I of Persia represents Armenia as one of his satrapies. His own records show, however, that year after year he had to send armies to put down rebellions, and that five of the battles took place in Media.

After the collapse of the Persian empire, the Seleucid kings attempted to subdue Armenia. In this they sometimes failed, and sometimes succeeded. The contact with the Seleucid Empire introduced Armenia to Hellenistic culture, contributed to its economic development, and gave it a share in the growing commerce of the day.

With the destruction of the Seleucid power in 190 B.C. by the Romans, Armenia Major, Armenia Minor, and the Armenian state of Tsopk declared their independence. Subsequently Artashes, the king of Armenia Major, achieved, through a series of conquests in several directions, the territorial and ethnic unity of Armenia and formed an extensive and powerful state.

The Empire of Tigranes the Great

In 95 B.C. Tigranes, a man of energy, enthusiasm, skill and intelligence, who proved himself to be the greatest of all kings of the Armenians, ascended the throne.

He recovered the territories lost to the Parthians since the days of Artashes, reunited the country, seized seventy valleys from Persia, and conquered the countries to the southwest of Armenia, all of northern Mesopotamia, Persian Azerbaidjan, the regions inhabited by the Kurds, and the lands of the southwest clear down to Palestine. Antioch, the capital of the Seleucid Empire, was one of the cities of his realm. He became, indeed, the mightiest monach of Western Asia, a "king of kings," as he called himself.

The empire of Tigranes, however, lasted only fourteen years. An attempt on his part to give shelter to Mithridates, his father-in-law, got him involved in a protracted struggle with Lucullus, the Roman general. Although modern research has discredited much of the boastings of the Romans in this connection, Lucullus finally succeeded in defeating him and destroying the city of Tigranocerta, his capital. Three years later Tigranes surrendered to Pompey and paid six thousand talents as war indemnity. However, he retained Armenia, kept his title as "king of kings," and was recognized as an "ally of Rome." In reality,

Armenia became a "buffer state" between Rome and the Parthian Empire.

A Buffer State

Artevastes, the son of Tigranes, attempted to regain his father's empire, and for a while caused great losses to Antony's army. But he failed, and Armenia became a vassal of Rome. His defeat was hailed by Roman poets, and Roman money was coined bearing the inscription, "Armenia conquered."

But Armenia was far from conquered. It remained a subject of Rome only when not strong enough to join forces with the Parthians. Nonetheless she suffered much from the jealousies and intrigues of both.

Under the Arshakuni kings of the first century and after, Armenia remained politically intact within the framework of the Persian empire. During the fourth and fifth centuries, it was weakened markedly when it broke off spiritually from Zoroastrian Persia, though Armenian kings and princes continued to govern the land much as they pleased.

The Battle of Avarayr in the middle of the fifth century, an event of epic proportions in Armenian history, is an instance of Armenia's strength in the midst of hopeless military weakness. The battle was one of a series of religious wars against the efforts of the Persians under the Sassanian dynasty to uproot Christianity in Armenia. Though defeated in battle, the Armenians won the day by virtue of the proportionately great losses they inflicted upon the enemy, and their unflinching determination to remain true to Christianity.

Vardan Mamikonian, the towering figure in the Battle of Avarayr, may be said to have played the same role on the eastern frontiers of Europe that Charles Martel played on its western frontiers. Through him and his heroic fighters, not only was the spread of Zoroastrianism to the west arrested, but Christian Armenia became a back door restraint on the influx of Mohammedanism in Europe from the east.



Ruins of church in fortress of Amberd, built in seventh century, on the side of Mount Aragatz, about 5000 feet above sea level.

Struggles with Arabs, Seljuks, Mongols and Turks

With the fall in 642 of the Sassanian Persian Empire, the Arabs carried on organized marauding expeditions in Armenia for two centuries. The Armenians on their part kept harassing the Arab garrisons posted on certain main roads.

By the second half of the ninth century, the country had prospered sufficiently under the Bagratuni princes to enable Ashot I, one of their number, to assume the title of the "Prince of Princes," and to be so recognized by the Caliph and Basilius I. A little later, Prince Gagik of the Artsrunis crowned himself king of Vaspurakan. The endless efforts of the Byzantines to convert the Armenian Church to Orthodoxy, and the appearance of the Seljuk hordes on the frontiers of Armenia, prevented Armenia from being consolidated under these houses and becoming a power in the Near East. The Seljuks, however, who swept before them dozens of Arab and Persian emirates, were not able to penetrate Armenia for about fifty years. Not until the Eastern Empire attacked Ani in the rear, did they succeed in overrunning the country.

Despairing, many Armenian families left their homes for Poland, Galicia and Byzantine lands. Other families crossed the Taurus and under Prince Reuben established in 1080 the independent Armenian kingdom of Cilicia. The kingdom had a precarious existence for three centuries, and was subsequently invaded by Genghiz Khan and destroyed by Tamerlane.

With the break-up of the rule of the Mongols, a large number of independent principalities arose in the land, and feudal lords reigned supreme within the bounds of their tiny realms. But soon the Ottoman Turks defeated Persia, and in time established their rule in Armenia. In more recent times Armenia was divided among Turkey, Russia, and Persia, with Mt. Ararat on the boundary line of the three frontiers.

Breathing Spells of Freedom and Security

Despite the interminable wars with neighboring states and empires, the untold times that fire and sword were carried



Vase, thirteenth century style, by Taragros.



An ancient temple of Geghart.

through the land, the imposition of unmitigated hardships and sufferings upon the people, the repeated attempts to enslave and assimilate them, and the long-drawn-out struggles for independence, Armenia has left behind it a record of economic, social and cultural life of which her sons are justly proud. Against the background of its protracted black and bloody history, there stands in sharp contrast the heritage of a great and glorious culture of a people whose minds and spirits refused to yield to conquest.

Armenia, of the past two thousand years especially, is known for its exceptional art, priceless monuments, buildings of fine proportion and fascinating bas-reliefs. In the gorge of the River Garnichai, the ruins of a fortress of the Armenian-Parthian Tiridates, and a pagan temple from the first century are to be found. The vine ornament of the basalt slabs of the temple is as beautiful and vivid as if it had but yesterday come from the sculptor's chisel. Close by, under the precipitous walls of a narrow rocky gorge are grouped the temples of Gekhart. The most remarkable among these, from the standpoint of the builder's art, are the cave temples hewn out of solid rock, after the architectural designs of Galdzak in the thirteenth century. The cupola of one of these from the inside is in the form of a great double petalled flower, the heart of which is an opening to let in the light. The deep niches and arches of the temples are ornamented with the most delicate tracery of carving.

In the great libraries of Armenia, Europe, and America, one may see Armenian manuscript illuminations preserved to our day with the freshness of their original coloring. Armenians had a theatre as far back as two thousand years ago, earlier than any other people in the Near East. They were the first to accept Christianity as a national religion in 287 A.D.,[2] about twenty-five years before Constantine gave any official status to it. Their revival of learning in the fifth century has come to be known as the Golden Age of Armenian literature.

[2] According to the recent findings of a Soviet Armenian scholar.

It should be noted here that most of what is significant in Armenian history and culture comes from periods and districts which enjoyed breathing spells of freedom and security.



High relief on facade of government building.



Ancient tombstone.

Chapter Two

The Night Before the Dawn

On the Way to Golgotha

Seldom, if ever, did Armenian life drop to such a low state as during the past several centuries, first under the Ottoman rulers, and then under the Romanoffs, when violence, want, ignorance, and the threat of total extinction stalked the land, and the people sank in despair.

Armenian art and literature were largely neglected from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries; and the revival of Armenian letters in the nineteenth century was more than offset by the social and political disaster which came upon the Armenian people toward the end of that century. What befell them then was the beginning of what brought them to the verge of annihilation during the first two decades of the twentieth century.

For Thirty Pieces of Silver

The Armenian Question officially entered European diplomacy as an international issue with the Treaty of San Stefano, March 3, 1878. Under Article Sixteen, Turkey solemnly pledged herself to Russia to introduce radical reforms in the Armenian provinces. England, Germany and France, however, looked with suspicion on this provision of the Treaty and forced its modification at the Berlin Conference, the summer of the same year. The Treaty of Berlin, July 17, 1878, was a stab in the back for the Armenian people, whose security it re-entrusted to Turkey.[1] Thereafter the European powers used the Armenian Question as a club over Turkey, to obtain from her this or that concession, always at the expense of the Armenians.[2]

[1] Article Sixty-one. See also Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, *Minorities and Peace*, London, 1934, p. 16.

[2] See, for example, *Armenia, Letter from the Duke of Argyll. Documentary and Historical Evidence of England's Responsibility for the Horrors Inflicted by the Turks upon the Armenian People.* Manchester, 1896, 16 pp.

The result was the beginning of the systematic persecution of the Armenians in Turkey as an official policy of the Sultan. After the massacre of 1894, in May of 1895, the Ambassadors of the Powers at Constantinople agreed upon a set of reform measures for all Turkish Armenia, including the Six Vilayets and Cilicia, to which the Sultan agreed. But massacre after massacre continued in quick succession in 1895—in Constantinople on September 30, in Akhissar on October 3, in Trebizond on the 8th, in Erzingan on the 21st, in Baiburt on the 25th, in Bitlis on the 27th, in Erzeroum on the 30th, in Arabkir from the 1st to the 5th of November, in Diarbekir on November 1, in Malatia from the 4th to the 9th, in Kharput on the 10th, in Sivas on the 12th, in Amasia, Marsivan and Aintab on the 15th, in Marash on the 18th, in Caesarea on the 30th, in Urfa, twice, on October 26 and on the 28th and 29th of December. Other isolated massacres followed in 1896, in Van on June 26, and in Constantinople from the 26th to the 28th of August. Between 1894 and 1896 three hundred thousand Armenians perished.[3]

Will-o'-the-Wisps

In 1909 Abd-ul-Hamid, the Red Sultan, was deposed by the Young Turks, and a constitutional monarchy was established in Turkey. Hope ran high in many circles, but only for a moment, for before the end of that year another thirty thousand Armenians were slain in Cilicia.[4]

With the intent of putting an end to these outbursts of Turkish barbarity, the Ambassadorial Conference in London in

[3] Caleb Frank Gates, *Not To Me Only,* Princeton University Press, 1940, Chapters 7 and 8; W. W. Peet, *No Less Honor,* 1939, pp. 158-164; Julius Richter, *A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East,* New York, Chicago, etc., 1910, pp. 140-155; George E. White, *Charles Chapin Tracy,* Boston, Chicago, *c.* 1918, pp. 34-38; The Armenian Relief Association, Bulletin No. 1, October 1, 1895; George H. Hepworth, *Through Armenia on Horseback,* New York, 1898, pp. 61-63, 108-117, 122-128, 129-130, 223-224, 235-243, 248-251, 267-271; William Willard Howard, *Horrors of Armenia: The Story of an Eye-Witness,* New York, 1896, 62 pp.

[4] *The Friends of Armenia,* organ of the Society of the "Friends of Armenia," published in England, Spring and Summer issues, 1909.



A street in Erevan twenty-five years ago.

1913 favored the institution of an international control over parts of Turkish Armenia on the basis of a population of three million one hundred thousand, of whom one million four hundred and twenty-five thousand were Armenians and only eight hundred and seventy-one thousand Turks, the remainder representing other Christian and Moslem minority groups. Early in 1914 another agreement was reached between the Powers, representing the Armenians, and Turkey, according to which two Christian inspectors-general were appointed over the Six Vilayets and Cilicia.

At the outbreak of World War I, the Turks proposed and Germany concurred, that Armenians make common cause with the Tatars and rise in rebellion against Russia, in return for which Russian Armenia and portions of Turkish Armenia would be given autonomy. The proposal was rejected,[5] and at a time when the fortunes of the Allies were at a low ebb. They could not have done otherwise!

The Final Stage of the Major Tragedy

And so entered into its final phase one of the major tragedies of the world since the beginning of time. During the course of that war, Turkish barbarism sank to its lowest and most hideous depths. Goaded and guided by the Germans, the Turks conceived and attempted to carry into execution the total extermination of the Armenian people. And they almost succeeded in doing so. Through deportations, starvation, disease, and outright slaughter, they succeeded in reducing by more than one-half the Armenian population in the Armenian provinces and other parts of Turkey—a net loss of more than one million souls. Those who survived found themselves poverty-stricken, homeless immigrants in Iran, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Greece, Bulgaria, Roumania, France, the Americas and in various parts of the Soviet Union. Senator William H. King of Utah, who

[5] Lord Robert Cecil in a letter to Viscount Bryce, October 3, 1918. The Armenian National Union of America, *The Case of Armenia, c.* 1919, p. 8; W. D. Bliss in the *New York Times,* December 21, 1919, II, p. 2.

visited the Near East twice at the end of the First World War and studied the situation in Turkey and Armenia, estimated the property confiscated by the Turks from the Armenians at the value of billions of dollars.[6]

One may read the story of this blackest page in modern history prior to World War II in the eye-witness account of American missionaries, the reports of European and American journalists and government officials, the blue book of the British government prepared by Viscount Bryce, German and Turkish official documents, and many other sources.[7]

Heroic Resistance

Throughout their tribulations, the Armenians did not resign themselves to the fate meted out to them by the Turks. They fought back. The history of their heroic resistance at various times in many parts of the country forms one of the glorious chapters in the annals of this resolute and undaunted people. Zeitoon, Sassoon, Van, Marash, Erzeroum, Musa Dagh and Shabun Karahisar—each stands for an Armenian equivalent of a Thermopylae, a Verdun, or a Stalingrad.[8]

The Armenians in the Caucasus and abroad brought their moral and material support to the cause of the Allies. Their sons enlisted by the thousands in the Allied armies and distinguished themselves in battles against the armies of the common foe.

Strategic Fighting

In the first year of World War I the Armenians organized

[6] William H. King, "The Lausanne Treaty and Kemalist Pan-Islamic Adventure," in The American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty, *The Lausanne Treaty, Turkey and Armenia,* New York, 1926, pp. 59-61.

[7] Arnold Joseph Toynbee, *Armenian Atrocities, the Murder of a Nation,* London, New York, 1915, 119 pp.; *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-1916: Documents Presented to Viscount Grey of Fallodon, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, by Viscount Bryce, with a Preface by Viscount Bryce,* London, 1916, 684 pp.; Martin Niepage, *The Horrors of Aleppo Seen by a German Eyewitness,* London, 24 pp.; *Germany, Turkey and Armenia,* a selection of documentary evidence relating to the Armenian atrocities from German and other sources, London, 1917, 128 pp.; Fá-iz-el Ghusein, *Martyred Armenia,* translated from the original Arabic, New York, 1918, 52 pp.

[8] Franz Werfel's *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh* is virtually the story of one of these struggles.



An equestrian statue of David of Sassoon, the Armenian legendary hero, by O. Bedjanian.

volunteer forces and became largely instrumental in the successes of the Russian Army in the Caucasus.[9]

General Ihsan Pasha, who commanded the right wing of the Turkish Army in the Caucasus, admitted in November 1915, that "had it not been for the Armenians, we (the Turks) would have conquered the Caucasus." The Armenians thus made impossible a junction of eighteen million Turks and Tatars with the five million Afghans in Afghanistan, the attainment of which aim was a moving cause for the entry of Turkey in that war. They closed the fissure through which the Central Powers would have landed in India.

Later, both before and after the retreat of the Russian Army from the Turkish front, they continued the struggle with the enemy against insuperable odds. A force under General Antranik continued the battle as late as October 1918.[10]

"Of all the races in the Caucasus," said Kerensky, "the Armenians alone stuck to their posts, organized volunteer forces and, by the side of their Russian comrades, faced the formidable assaults of the enemy, and turned his victorious march into a disastrous rout." [11]

Lord Robert Cecil, in a speech before the House of Commons, October 25, 1918, referring to the role of the Armenians in the same region, testified that without doubt the Allies owed "a debt of gratitude to the Armenians for all they have accomplished by fighting the Turks, as heroically as they did, under most difficult conditions." "The services rendered by the Armenians to the common cause," he wrote to Viscount Bryce, October 3, 1918, "can never be forgotten." [12]

The resistance of the Armenians in the Caucasus also had

[9] The victories and successes of Armenians in the Russian Army on the Caucasian front were highly praised by Col. Obrastzoff, Commander of the 2nd Brigade of the 2nd Division of the Chasseurs of the Caucasus, and General Koulebiakine, Commander of the Russian Division. See, The American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

[10] Liason, "Antranik," in Blackwood's Magazine, October, 1919, vol. 206, pp. 441-477.

[11] August 20, 1918. The American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

far-reaching significance in other directions. General von Ludendorff, in his Memoirs, gave indirect credit to the decisive role the Armenians played in the failure of the German armies on the western front, when he confessed that the failure was due to lack of oil, which in turn he attributed to the inability of the Turks to capture Baku in time against the formidable resistance of the Armenians.[13]

General Liman von Sanders, the German Commander of the Turkish Army in Palestine, similarly attributed the collapse of the Turkish Army on the Palestine front to the engagement of the available forces of his Army with the Armenians in Azerbaijan and the Caucasus.[14]

On the Palestine front itself, Armenian troops of the Légion d'Orient played a commendable part in the battle against the enemy.[15]

One hundred and sixteen members of the French Parliament—Senators and Deputies—in a memorandum presented to Premiere Poincaré, January 15, 1922, also acknowledged the contribution of the Armenians to the war. "The Armenians of Russia," they said, "like those of Turkey, turned a deaf ear to the proposals made to them by Turk and Tatar leaders to hoist the flag of rebellion against Russia. More than two hundred thousand of them fought, with signal bravery and loyalty, in the Russian Army. Following the defection of Russia, the Armenians took over the Caucasus front and, for five months, delayed the advance of the Turks, and thus became a screen of protection for the British Army in Mesopotamia. Also, the Armenians took over the defense of Baku and, for months, prevented the Germans from securing the most vital fuel supply from the oil fields of Baku for their Western Armies. In fine, France cannot

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 136.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] General E. H. H. Allenby in *A Brief Record of the Advance of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force Under the Command of General Sir H. H. Allenby, July, 1917 to October, 1918. Compiled from Official Sources.* Second Edition, 1919, p. 35.

deny the signal bravery with which the Armenian Legion under our officers fought on the Palestinian front."[16]

Sentiments

In return for the contributions which the Armenian people brought to the great cause of freedom and democracy, the Allies promised their liberation and their establishment as an independent state.

Prime Minister Lloyd George declared in the House of Commons, that the recognition of a separate national condition of Armenia shall constitute one of the war aims of Great Britain.[17]

Similarly, Mr. Balfour wrote to Boghos Nubar, the President of the Armenian National Delegation, October 12, 1918, that "the liberation of Armenia is one of the war aims of the Allied Powers." On November 6, 1918, speaking in the House of Commons, he declared that Great Britain had reserved to itself the right to advocate to the Peace Conference full liberty for Armenia. Lord Curzon seemed to have endorsed the suggestion that the League of Nations might assume responsibility for a mandate over Armenia.[18]

The Italian Chamber of Deputies adopted a resolution, November 30, 1918, in favor of the independence of Armenia.

Briand and Clemenceaux of France came out clearly with similar sentiments about Armenia and the Armenians.[19]

Senator Lodge offered a resolution in the United States Senate, December 10, 1918, to the effect that Turkish Armenia, including the Six Vilayets and Cilicia, together with Russian Armenia and Persian Armenia, should be independent.[20] Sen-

[16] The American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

[17] David Lloyd George, *British War Aims*, January 5, 1918, Authorized Version as published by the British Government, New York, George H. Doran Co., p. 11; The American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty, *op. cit.*, pp. 194, 195.

[18] Blanche E. C. Dugdale, *Arthur James Balfour*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, *c.* 1937, vol. II, pp. 223-224; The Armenian National Union of America, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9; The American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty, *op. cit.*, pp. 193, 197, 199.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 183. The resolution further expressed "the hope of the Senate that the Peace Conference will make arrangements to establish an independent Armenian Republic."



Chapayev. High relief by Ara Sarkissian.

ator Charles S. Thomas, member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, approved this, December 16, 1918, adding that he would "place under Armenian subjection as many Turks as may be necessary for the reconstruction of the Armenian country." [21]

President Woodrow Wilson on many occasions expressed his wholehearted sympathy for the sufferings of the Armenians and their aspirations for freedom and independence. In a message of January 8, 1919, he conceded the right of "fullest autonomy" to Armenia. In an address of February 24, 1919, after commending the American people for pouring out their money to help succor Armenians after they suffered, he added, "now set up your strength so that they shall never suffer again." [22] In another address delivered in Salt Lake City, September 23, 1919, he said, "there is no region of the world toward which the sympathies of the United States have gone out so abundantly as to the people of Armenia, those people infinitely terrified and infinitely persecuted. We have poured out money, we have sent agents of all sorts to relieve their distress, and at every turn we have known that every dollar we spent upon them might be rendered useless by the cruel power which had authority over them. . . . Armenia is one of the regions that are to be under trust of the League of Nations. Armenia is to be redeemed. The Turk is to be forbidden to exercise his authority there, and Christian people are not only to be allowed to aid Armenia but they are to be allowed to protect Armenia." [23]

To the same effect Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby stated in a letter to the French Ambassador, March 20, 1920, that "there can be no question as to the genuine interest of this

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 183.

[22] Woodrow Wilson, *War and Peace, Presidential Messages, Addresses, and Public Papers, 1917-1924,* ed. by Ray Stannard Baker and William E. Dodd, New York and London, 1927, vol. I, p. 439.

[23] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 358-359. Similar sentiments he expressed in his message to Congress, advocating an American mandate over Armenia, May 24, 1920, and in his cablegram to Mr. Paul Hymans, the President of the Council of the League of Nations, November 30, 1920. *Congressional Record,* vol. 59, pp. 7533-7534; Wilson, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 511; *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States,* 1920, vol. III, pp. 804-805.

Government in the plans for Armenia, and the Government of the United States is convinced that the civilized world demands and expects the most liberal treatment for that unfortunate country." [24]

The same year both the Republican and Democratic party platforms expressed sympathy for the Armenians and their cause. "Our Government," said a clause in the Democratic platform, "consistent with the constitution and principles, should render every possible and proper aid to them in their efforts to establish and maintain a Government of their own."

The degree to which the American people as a whole shared these sentiments may be seen from the petitions addressed to the President, March 3, 1919, signed by twenty-five thousand ministers, rectors and priests, one hundred bishops, forty-five governors of the states of the Union, and two hundred and fifty college and university presidents, asking the return of all of historic Armenia in Turkey—the Six Vilayets and Cilicia—to the Armenians.[25]

International Gestures

Behind these friendly sentiments of European and American statesmen and governments, there was a confusing and baffling network of political facts and developments in which the Armenian Question got tangled and almost came to naught.

Negotiations among Britain, France and Russia in 1916 had resulted in an agreement among them by which England was to get Mesopotamia; France, Syria and Cilicia; and Russia, the Dardanelles and the Armenian provinces of Erzeroum, Trebizond, Van, and Bitlis. England got Iraq and Palestine. France got Syria. Russia, which during the course of the war had actually occupied the Armenian provinces in question, got nothing.

Russia had a revolution on her hands. She needed peace. By the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, March 3, 1918, she surrendered her claims for Kars and Ardahan. The armistice of November 11,

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 751, 752.

[25] The American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

1918, however, forced Germany to renounce the treaty; and Russia on her part declared it null and void.

Early in the conferences at Paris it was recognized that certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire had reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations could be provisionally recognized, subject for the time being to administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory.

Such a stage of development Armenia had reached months before the termination of the war. On May 18, 1918, the Armenian National Assembly proclaimed, in the name of two million Armenians in Russia, the constitution of Russian Armenia into an independent Republic. By a note dated November 30, 1918, the Armenian National Delegation representing the unanimous will of the entire Armenian nation, proclaimed the independence of Integral Armenia, and brought that fact to the attention of the Allied Governments. On December 18, 1918, the Delegation placed Armenia under the guarantee of the Entente, the United States and the League of Nations. On February 26, 1919, the President of the Armenian National Delegation of the Armenian Republic in the Caucasus, appeared before the Peace Conference at Quai d'Orsay and presented to that body a joint memorandum on the claims and aspirations of the entire Armenian nation.[26]

The new Republic was recognized first by Germany, Turkey and Russia; and later by the Allied and Associated Powers, including the United States. Within its boundaries were incorporated a part of what was known as Turkish Armenia. The question arose as to its western boundary. So on April 26, 1920, the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers at San Remo formally requested the Government of the United States to assume the duties of mandatory in Armenia; and at the same time requested

[26] The Armenian National Union of America, *The Armenian Question Before the Peace Conference, A Memorandum Presented Officially by the Representatives of Armenia to the Peace Conference at Versailles, on February 26th, 1919.* New York, [1919], 74 pp.

of President Wilson to undertake to arbitrate the difficult question of the boundary between Turkey and Armenia in the Vilayets of Erzeroum, Trebizond, Van, and Bitlis, agreeing to accept his decision.[27]

On May 14, the President received from the Secretary of the Senate of the United States a communication conveying the following preamble and resolutions:

> Whereas the testimony adduced at the hearings conducted by the sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has early established the truth of the reported massacres and other atrocities from which the Armenian people have suffered; and
>
> Whereas the people of the United States are deeply impressed by the deplorable conditions of insecurity, starvation, and misery now prevalent in Armenia; and
>
> Whereas the independence of the Republic of Armenia has been duly recognized by the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference and by the Government of the United States of America; therefore be it
>
> Resolved, That the sincere congratulations of the Senate of the United States are hereby extended to the people of Armenia on the recognition of the independence of the Republic of Armenia, without prejudice respecting the territorial boundaries involved; and be it further
>
> Resolved, That the Senate of the United States hereby expresses the hope that stable government, proper protection of individual liberties and rights, and the full realization of nationalistic aspirations may soon be attained by the Armenian people; and be it further
>
> Resolved, That in order to afford necessary protection for the lives and property of citizens of the United States at the port of Batum and along the line of the railroad leading

[27] *Congressional Record, op. cit.;* William H. King, "The Lausanne Treaty and Kemalist Pan-Islamic Adventure," in The American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58. See also Appendix A, especially pp. 155-156.

to Baku, the President is hereby requested, if not incompatible with the public interest, to cause a United States warship and a force of marines to be dispatched to such port with instructions to such marines to disembark and to protect American lives and property.

"I received and read this document," said the President in his message to Congress, May 24, 1920, "with great interest and with genuine gratification, not only because it embodied my own convictions and feelings with regard to Armenia and its people, but also, and more particularly, because it seemed to me the voice of the American people expressing their genuine convictions and deep Christian sympathies and intimating the line of duty which seemed to them to lie clearly before us. . . . In response to the invitation of the Council at San Remo I urgently advise and request that the Congress grant the Executive power to accept for the United States a mandate over Armenia. I make this suggestion in the earnest belief that it will be the wish of the people of the United States that this should be done. The sympathy with Armenia has proceeded from no single portion of our people, but has come with extraordinary spontaneity and sincerity from the whole of the great body of Christian men and women in this country. . . . Our recognition of the independence of Armenia will mean genuine liberty and assured happiness for her people, if we fearlessly undertake the duties of guidance and assistance involved in the functions of a mandatory." [28]

Despite the earnest appeal of the President, the Senate declined to grant to the Executive the power to accept a mandate over Armenia as requested in the message.[29] The President, in the meantime, continued to work on the question of the boundary between Turkey and Armenia.

On August 10, 1920, a Treaty of Peace was signed at Sevres

[28] Mandate Over Armenia, message to Congress of Woodrow Wilson, May 24, 1920. From the *Congressional Record, op. cit.*

[29] American Association for International Conciliation, *International Conciliation,* June, 1920, No. 151, p. 16.

by the Plenipotentiary Representatives of the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, and of Armenia, Belgium, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Roumania and Czechoslovakia, of the one part; and of Turkey, of the other part. According to Article Eighty-nine of this Treaty Turkey and Armenia as well as the other High Contracting Parties agreed to submit to the arbitration of the President of the United States "the question of the frontier to be fixed between Turkey and Armenia in the Vilayets of Erzeroum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and to accept his decision thereupon, as well as any stipulations he may prescribe as to access for Armenia to the sea, and as to the demilitarization of any portion of Turkish territory adjacent to the said frontier".

President Wilson affixed his seal to his decision delineating the boundary between Turkey and Armenia, November 22, 1920. Under the terms of his award, the Armenian Republic received forty thousand square miles, constituting about forty per cent of the Armenian provinces in Turkey.[30]

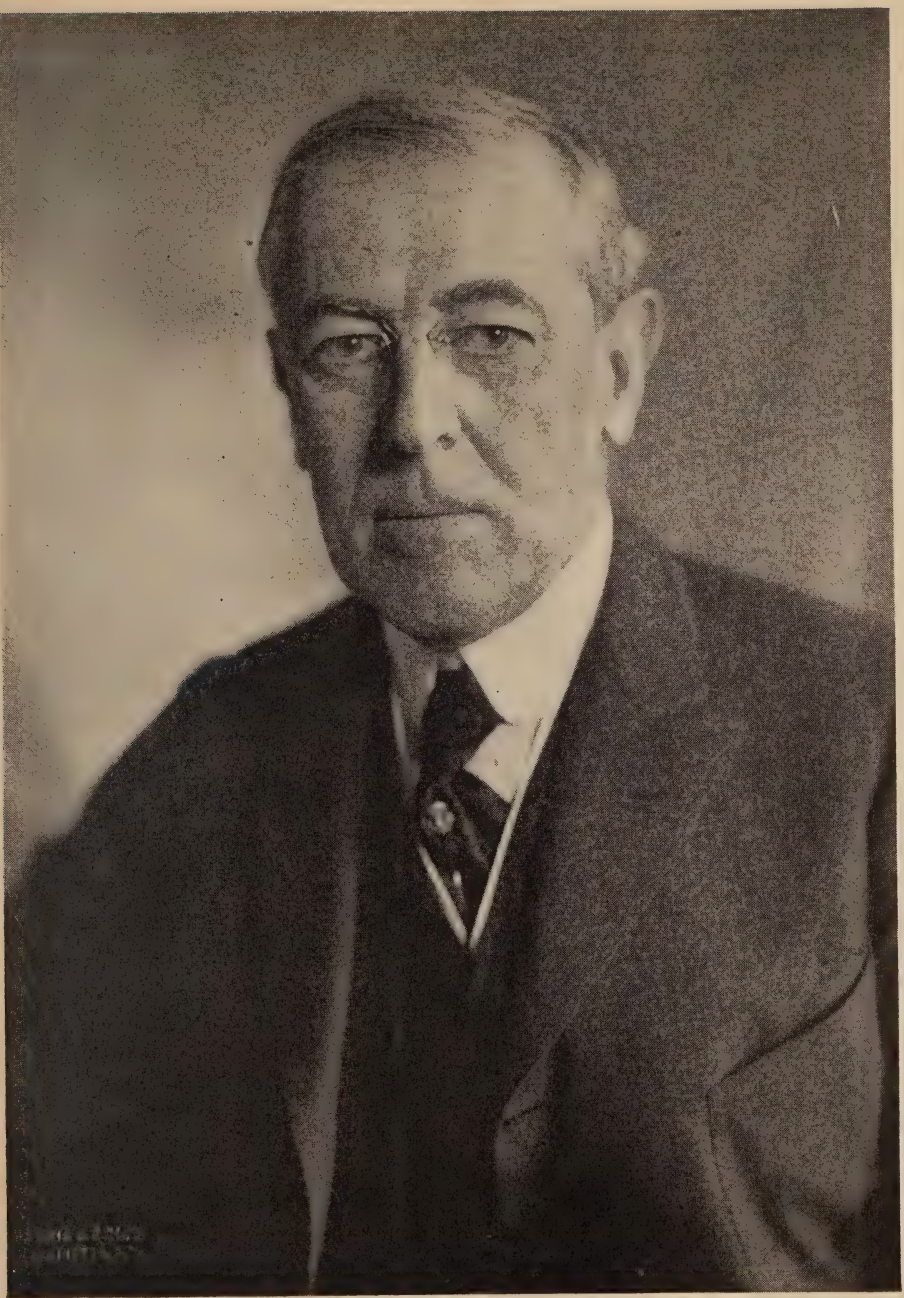
The Turks in the meantime had been reclaiming the regions of Erzeroum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, which in 1917 the Russians had left to the Armenians. They did not resign to the Armenians even what had been Russian Armenia, and seized Kars and Ardahan, about half of its territory, and put the population to the sword. Had not the rest of Russian Armenia transformed itself into a Soviet Republic, the Turks would have subjected it, too, to the same fate.[31] In any event, starvation and disease would have decimated the people. A nation could not have gotten closer to the brink of annihilation than the Armenians at this time.

True Friends and Enemies

In February 1921, after Armenia had become a Soviet Republic, the Soviet Ambassador in Paris declared at a public meeting that Russian Armenia was small in extent, Turkish Armenia ex-

[30] See Appendix A.

[31] Blanche, E. C. Dugdale, *Arthur James Balfour,* New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, *c.* 1937, vol. II, p. 186.



Woodrow Wilson, the great friend of the Armenians.

tensive, and that if these two Armenias were not united, Armenia would remain a wilderness. Then he added, "we gladly would leave Russian Armenia to Greater Armenia."

On December 12, 1921, the resolution was submitted in the Congress of the United States and referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, "That the President be requested, if not incompatible with public interest, to take up with Great Britain, France, and Italy the question of calling a conference for the purpose of considering methods by which the Armenians may be given an opportunity to establish themselves as a nation." The President, Warren G. Harding, wrote to James W. Gerard, November 10, 1922, that, "Everything which may be done will be done in seeking to protect the Armenian people and preserve them the rights which the Sevres Treaty undertook to bestow." [32]

Despite these appeals and affirmations, nine-tenths of Armenia, including Kars and Ardahan, which constituted half of what had been Russian Armenia up to the end of World War I, was left to the Turks. Britain, France and Italy, and oil interests in America, were responsible for this most flagrant injustice in modern history.[33]

"The triumphant Turks," wrote Senator William H. King, "called the Allied and Associated Powers, including the United States, to meet them at Lausanne to sign treaties such as the former might dictate. . . . The Turkish plenipotentiaries declared that all former treaties between Turkey and other nations were abrogated, and with an assurance and arrogance, perhaps unparalleled in treaty negotiations, they wrote treaties for the Allied Nations to sign, and dictated the Treaty which the United States was to sign. These treaties sanctioned the destruction of the Sevres Treaty. They cynically and brutally ignored Armenia, and, in effect, endorsed the butchery of Armenians and the expulsion of the remnants of the Armenian race from their ances-

[32] The American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty, *op. cit.*, p. 118. H. Res. 244, 67th Congress, 2nd Session, December 12, 1921; The American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 48; William H. King, *op. cit.*, p. 58, and *passim.*



Erevan, as it looked in the early days of Soviet rule.

tral lands." Lloyd George referred to the Treaty of Lausanne, signed in July, 1923, as "an abject, cowardly, and infamous surrender:" [34]

In the United States a storm burst about the ratification of the signing of the Lausanne Treaty, which lasted for several years. Mr. Wilson, now a private citizen, referred to the Treaty as "iniquitous." [35] Other distinguished Americans raised their voices high against it, and reiterated in most emphatic tones the wrong being done to Armenia and its people. About one hundred and ten of them signed a protest in which it was stated that the Treaty ignored America's "solemn pledges to Armenia." Among them were men like James Rowland Angell, President of Yale University; Wallace W. Atwood, President of Clark University; Newton D. Baker, Ex-Secretary of War; Rt. Rev. Charles H. Brent, Bishop of Western New York; the Rev. S. Parkes Cadman; Edward Capps, Ex-Minister to Greece; Carrie Chapman Catt; Channing H. Cox, Governor of Massachusetts; Dr. Frank Crane; Homer S. Cummings, Ex-Chairman of the Democratic National Committee; Josephus Daniels, Ex-Secretary of the Navy; Charles W. Eliot, President-Emeritus of Harvard University; Haley Fiske, President of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company; Rt. Rev. James E. Freeman, Bishop of Washington; Lindley M. Garrison, Ex-Secretary of War; James W. Gerard, Ex-Ambassador to Germany; William Guggenheim; Albert Bushnell Hart; Henry W. Jessup; Henry Morgenthau; William Church Osborn; Alton B. Parker, Democratic Presidential Candidate in 1904; George Haven Putnam; Fleming H. Revell; William J. Schieffelin; Alfred E. Smith; Henry Van Dyke; and Walter George Smith, Ex-President of the American Bar Association.[36]

[34] *Op. cit.*, pp. 58-59; Stephen Bonsal, *Suitors and Suppliants.* New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1946, p. 198.

[35] The American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 51-55; *A Memorandum to the Honorable Davis Elkins, U. S. Senator, by One Hundred and Ten Citizens, Against Ratification by the Senate of the Lausanne Treaty, negotiated between the United States and Turkey, at Lausanne on August 6, 1923.* 31 pp.

Bishop James Cannon of the Methodist Episcopal Church appeared before the General Platform Committee at the Democratic Convention in 1924 in New York and argued for the adoption of a plank which denounced the Treaty of Lausanne and advocated the fulfillment of the Wilson award to Armenia.[37] At the same Convention, Senator William H. King asked the insertion in the platform of the Democratic Party of the plank which appears therein, denouncing the Lausanne Treaty and pledging the Party to the fulfillment of President Wilson's arbitral award to Armenia.[38] Senator Ralston, in a letter to Mr. Gerard, stated that, in common with the vast majority of Americans, he had been shocked beyond expression by the atrocities committed on the Armenians, as well as the wrongs done to the American missions, schools and hospitals in Turkey, "in flagrant violation of the treaty obligations." He added, "I agree with President Wilson and President Harding, that the Armenians are entitled to independence, and I certainly cannot regard the oil concessions received by American interests as any compensation for the principles and rights sacrificed by our diplomacy in this proposed (Lausanne) treaty." [39]

The opposition to the ratification of the Lausanne Treaty by large sections of American public opinion, particularly in church circles, was so great that it could not pass the Senate,[40] and was, therefore, never ratified. That means that so far as the United States is concerned, President Woodrow Wilson's arbitral award to Armenia is still in full force.

The Good Samaritan

If one tenth of historic Armenia was saved and survived, it was because in their darkest hour, Armenians, when the shades of despair weighed most heavily on their hearts and minds, found

[37] The American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[38] William H. King, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 6. Many other distinguished Americans expressed themselves in the same fashion. *Ibid., passim.* See also the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia, *The Senate Should Reject the Turkish Treaty.* New York, 1923, 36 pp.

[40] William H. King, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

in the great Russian people a true friend, geographically more favorably located[41] than distant America, their other great friend. The Armenians, as other minority peoples, threw in their lot with Soviet Russia. In a short time, Armenia was transformed from a backward into a highly developed modern state. The story of that transformation is the main burden of this book.

[41] See *infra* pp. 136-140.



Joseph Stalin. Rug designed and executed by Karanfilian. This rug is one in a series of four, the others depicting Franklin D. Roosevelt, Vyacheslav Molotov, and Anastas Mikoyan.



Woman collective farmer working in vineyard.

Chapter Three [1]

The Once Starving Armenians

Life Breaks Loose from the Bonds of Death

If one wishes to know what advances Soviet policy has wrought, let him but look at Soviet Armenia and consider its magnificent achievements during the past twenty-five years. There is more progress packed in these few years, inconceivably more, than in all the preceding one thousand years of Armenian history.

Under the new freedoms and securities, the policy of friendly relations with neighboring peoples, the enthusiasms which are kindled by the awareness of belonging to a revolutionary era of reconstruction, the unrestricted opportunities for fruitful and creative work, the Armenian people experienced, for the first time since the Christianization of their land, the most powerful resurgence in all fields of human endeavor—economic, social, political, cultural, moral, and lately religious.

As one of the Orbeli brothers wrote in *Pravda* in 1942, "Armenia became aglow with the vital flame of a new life—the Soviet life of unclouded happiness, of free and constructive labor." The light that was then lit became a steady and unwavering beacon for Armenians everywhere of a new and happy life in their own land.

Old men, condemned to a life of mediocrity by the dispirit-

[1] The material in this and the succeeding three chapters is drawn mainly from the reports of highly qualified Soviet Armenian scholars and authorities sent to Armenian papers in this country during the past four or five years; the oral and written reports of recent visitors to Soviet Armenia, among them Dr. Hewlett Johnson, Edwin S. Smith, and the three official delegates of the Armenian National Council of America; and a mimeographed report, in Armenian, "The Twenty-five Years of Soviet Armenia," prepared by the Armenian Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.

ing limitations of an unimaginative and callous old regime, were invited by the Armenian government to return to their homeland to rebuild it and devote themselves to creative work in their respective fields. They did—men like Alexander Spendiarov, Avetik Isahakian, Martiros Sarian, Alexander Tamanian, Hagop Manandian, Hrachya Ajarian, and Stepan Malkhasiantz —and their youth was "renewed like the eagle's." The younger men and women dreamed dreams and saw visions of the new day and the radiant tomorrow that was theirs. And young and old built together fiercely and feverishly, working against time, as though pursued by the haunting spirits of their forefathers whose unfulfilled desires and suppressed creative energy had doomed them to everlasting restlessness.

And Armenia, one of the oldest countries in the world, became one of the youngest—its cities beautifully planned, with neat and spacious squares, historic public monuments, up-to-date industrial plants, government and educational buildings, theatres, cinemas, clubs, museums, art galleries and the like.

Across the border, in the other Armenian provinces now in Turkey, all the way from Kars and Ardahan to Cilicia, decay and desolation are still the main distinguishing marks.

In Industry

Within the past twenty-five years, Soviet Armenia has been transformed from a backward agricultural country to an advanced industrial-agricultural state. Before the Revolution, Armenia, industrially sluggish, had only the Shustov cognac distilleries, a brewery, a cannery, a power station of modern proportions, a small copper smelter, a cotton gin, and a few other primitively equipped workshops. The Tsarist regime had systematically stifled Armenia's economic activities. Even in 1913 when the economy of the country was at its "best," the entire production of Armenia was a meager two million rubles.

From the inception of the new Republic, however, the industrial undertakings of the old days were reorganized and expanded. New factories and mills were built. New enterprises

were launched in the chemical, mineral-metallurgical, textile, food, silk, machine tool, construction materials, and other fields. This industrial growth continued through the difficult war years, mainly as part of the development of the "life-line" of needed supplies.

Today, the mills and factories of Armenia turn out a multitude of products—machinery, equipment for canneries and hydro-electric plants, agricultural tools and machines, airplanes, electric lights and appliances, fusel basalt products, firebrick and other building materials, pottery and glassware, cotton fibre, silks, lumber and furniture, textiles, leather and knitted goods, footwear, beds, carpets, tobacco, sugar, meat products and canned fruits and vegetables. Among the huge mines, trusts and factories are the Alaverdi copper mines and copper-smelting works, the Erevan synthetic rubber plant, the Kirovakan chemical plant, the textile plant at Leninakan, the meat combinats at Erevan and Leninakan, the Ararat Wine Trust, with its eleven plants and enterprises, the Conserve Trust with its five factories, the Kalinin Cheese Trust with its factories, and the Arzni mineral waters factory. Now under construction are the molybdenum combinat of Kacharan, the aluminum combinat of Erevan, the copper electrolysis works of the Alaverdi copper plant, and other plants and factories.

Parallel with the increase in number and the improvement of technical equipment of plants and factories, the quality of production has improved from year to year, the number of types of goods produced has risen, the price of goods has gone down.

Soviet Armenian industry has come to occupy a significant place in the economy of the Soviet Union. Well known throughout Soviet lands are the fine cognacs and wines of the Ararat trust, considered much better than Greek or Italian liquor, the Erevan preserves of rose petals and nuts, the tobacco of the Erevan tobacco factory, and the famous woven rugs of Armenia. The synthetic rubber works in Erevan is one of the finest and the Kalinin Cheese Trust is the greatest of its kind in the Soviet



Settlement of petroleum workers at Armenikan, near Baku.



A view of the large mechanized Erevan wine and cognac plant.

Union. Armenian stone, not even suspected of possessing any worth, is now widely valued. The rose and green color tufa of Artik and Koirlin, the brown tufaceous lava of Shaklinazar, the porphyry of Sevan, as well as marbles and other varieties of stone are being extensively used in Moscow, Stalingrad and other places.

In place of these, Armenia imports from the other parts of the Soviet Union lumber, machinery, paints, high quality woolen goods, paper, perfumes, iron, steel, and other raw materials and finished products.

The tremendous advance in the industrial economy of Soviet Armenia is vigorously expressed by the fact that in 1940 the industrial output in the city of Erevan alone was almost two hundred and fifty times that of 1913.

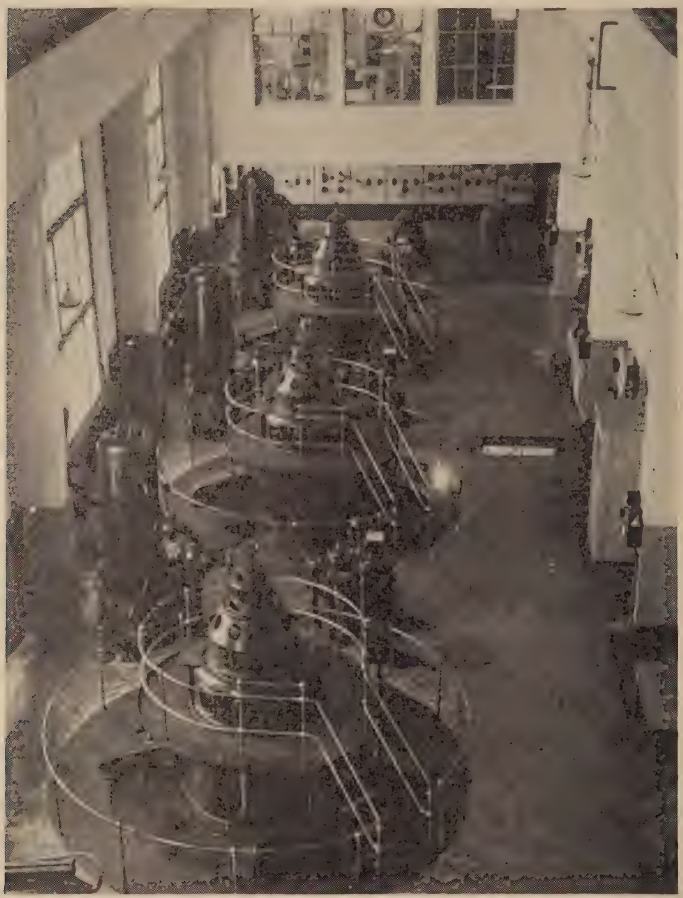
The industrial expansion of Soviet Armenia was more rapid than that of any other phase of its economy. During the first twenty years of its existence about two-thirds of the two billion three hundred million rubles invested in all capital enterprises was in industry. In 1941, eighty-two and four-tenths per cent of the country's entire economic output was through industry. In 1913 the industrial output had been only twenty-three and nine-tenths per cent.

The amazing development of Armenian industry had as a prime factor the natural wealth of the country. Many enterprises are founded on the wide utilization of local native materials. Witness, for example, the huge chemical works in Erevan, the Alaverdi and Ghapan copper industry, the cement factory at Kirovakan, silk culture, and the conserve factory. Armenia has limitless possibilities in producing building materials, and the number of factories devoted to them increases from year to year.

Another contributing factor in the great development of Armenian industry is the supply of cheap energy made available by the extensive hydro-electric power plants on the banks of the numerous mountain rivers.

In Tsarist days there were ten small electric power stations

with a capacity for five million one hundred thousand kwts. per hour, which fell to one million seven hundred thousand kwts. per hour in 1918 to 1920. None of these exploited the potential



Machine room in a power station.

water power in the land. In sharp contrast, in 1940 Soviet Armenia had forty-three hydro-electric power plants, of which four alone supplied the land with three hundred and eighty million

kwts. per hour. The greatest electric energy project in Armenia today is the Sevan-Zanga hydro-electric system with nine power plants, three of which were already functioning last year. The mighty Zanga River, which drops three thousand two hundred eighty-one feet within sixty miles, assures Armenia's industries an abundant supply of electric energy.

The state budget for the present year provides for wide expansion of electrification. In Amasia the Ghukasian Transmission Line is being built; the capacities of the hydro-electric power stations of the Akhta and Nor Payazit district centers are being increased; the power networks in Echmiadzin and Dilichan reconstructed; and new power networks built in Erevan, Leninakan and Echmiadzin.

The positive response of the laborers, engineers and technicians to the new Soviet patterns of work, socialist emulation, shock work, the Stakhanovite method, rationalization of production, invention, the best possible utilization of local means and materials, regional and national cooperation, all these have been factors in the great development of Armenian industry.

In Agriculture

Armenia can also point with considerable pride to her achievements in agriculture. Although in relation to industry, agriculture declined steeply in importance during the past twenty-five years, it nevertheless made startling advances. These proceeded along four lines—collectivization, land reclamation, mechanization and fertilization.

In pre-Soviet days the vast majority of villagers either were without land or owned insignificant plots. Under Soviet rule the peasant is in possession of the land he tills. To this end, paradoxically enough, he gave up his small risky private plot and united with his fellow tillers of the soil on huge collective farms. Ninety-two and three-tenths per cent of the Armenian working peasantry today is on collective farms, and ninety-nine and nine-tenths per cent of the arable land is in the possession of collective and state farms.



A. I. Mikoyan, U.S.S.R. People's Commissar of Food Industry, at a Conference of Men and Women Stakhanovite Workers in the Kremlin.



The Alaverdi Copper-Chemical Combinat.
Reproduction of painting by M. Sarian.

The unity of purpose and means achieved through collectivization made possible agricultural enterprises on a scale and at a rate of efficiency undreamt of before.

Under Soviet economy wonders have been done in increasing the arable land. For a long time prior to the establishment of the present order, Armenia had come to be known as the "land of stones and beggars." A large portion of her topography consisted of dry mountainous regions and sunburnt steppes covered with salty bloom. Under the Soviets, the arable land increased by one million one hundred eighty-eight thousand five hundred acres, that is, five hundred twenty per cent.

Land reclamation in Armenia has proceeded both in mountainous regions and on the plains. G. Kolmanov relates two stories which indicate the extent of the energy and the determination and the pride with which the people have carried on the fight for soil in the hills.

In the heart of a mountain region in one of the most distant corners of the land, a place almost bare of vegetation, where the only green is "in the little fields of the collective farms down in the valleys and up at the dizzy heights," Kolmanov saw the ruins of an ancient fortress, built some twenty-two centuries ago, in the midst of whose fallen walls and buildings were vineyards and beet plots, winding their way along and filling what once had been streets, courtyards and possibly in one spot the grand ballroom of a palace.[2]

In another place, in a mountain village, an old Armenian farmer pointed to a field no bigger than an acre and a half, and said: "We hauled away about two hundred and fifty carloads of rocks. But it is a good field."[3]

In the lowlands the battle for land has followed the quest for water for the arid soil. "Nature must have been in a capricious mood," says Kolmanov, "when it ordained that water

[2] *Information Bulletin*, the Embassy of the U.S.S.R., Washington, D. C., August 9, 1945, pp. 5-6.

[3] *Ibid.*



The Shahumian bee kolkhoz in the Amamlinsk region of Armenia.



Loading trucks with grapes on a state farm in Erevan.

should be as precious as each bit of arable land in this country of glacier-topped mountain ranges." If in the mountains folks point with pride to the number of carts of rocks they have hauled from their fields, in the fields they speak with pride about their irrigation canals and reservoirs. Some of these were built as far back as the eighth century B.C. They have been repaired and modernized for use in our day.

There are about four thousand five hundred miles of canals and two thousand irrigation installations in Armenia today. Of the one million four hundred thousand acres of arable land, five hundred thousand acres are watered by irrigation. Of the latter, three hundred eighty thousand five hundred thirty-four acres can be credited to Soviet Armenian irrigation experts, at a cost of about two hundred fifty million rubles, close to half the entire sum invested by the government in agriculture. At present large funds are being set aside to expand the irrigation system and increase the acreage for cultivation.

The ramified irrigation system of Armenia is among the greatest achievements of this smallest of the Soviet Republics. On it rests the whole structure of modern Armenian agriculture. "We have had two revolutions," said an elderly woman of Shirak Valley. "The first was in 1920 when Soviet power was established and our State came into being. The second came several years later when our Canal had been completed."[4]

Armenian agriculture owes its success in part to the organization and mechanization of its chief processes. No longer do peasants toil with crooked wooden plows and scythes. These have been replaced by tractors, combines, and other modern agricultural machinery. In 1938 three-fourths of the farmwork was done by machinery. At present Armenian agriculture is mechanized one hundred per cent in a number of regions, and is substantially so in other regions.

Chemical fertilization is another potent factor in the development of modern Armenian agriculture. At present several

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

new nitrogen and superphosphate plants are being built for the output of mineral fertilizers.

The system of canals, collectivization, mechanization and fertilization have changed the appearance of the land under cultivation and the character of the crops planted in Armenia.

Old Armenia grew only wheat, barley and grapes, and these in quantities insufficient for local needs. Today the once dreary sunburnt desert lands covered with salty bloom flourish with golden wheat and "the living green and white of cotton." The foothills, at an altitude of three to four thousand feet, are covered with shady gardens of fruit trees, vineyards, groves of walnut trees and tobacco plantations; and grain fields penetrate into the wildest gorges.

The area devoted to various crops has greatly increased since 1920—cotton plantations threefold; vineyards fourfold; orchards thirteen times; wheatfields four hundred fifty-six and four-tenths per cent; the technical crop area one thousand nine hundred forty-three per cent. During the two war years of 1943 and 1944 the area under cultivation increased by more than seventy-five thousand acres—the area under food crops, ten to fifteen per cent; grain, ten per cent; potatoes, thirty-eight per cent; other vegetables, twenty-five per cent; technical culture, three and one-half per cent; tobacco, fifty per cent; sugar beet, one hundred per cent. Since the beginning of the war, considerable attention has been given to vine growing. Over eight thousand vineyards as well as twelve thousand acres of orchards have been laid out in fields which hitherto had been fallow.

Stock raising has also made great progress in Armenia during the war years, as before. At the beginning of 1940, there were three thousand one hundred forty-four farms of long- and short-horned animals. Between 1940 and 1944, the number of head of cattle increased by six and two-tenths per cent; sheep and goats, by twenty-three per cent; hogs, by ten per cent; and poultry, by fifteen per cent.

Today Armenian agricultural produce and stock breeding



Armenian collective farm flocks in mountain pastures.



A collective farm dairy.

have a name far beyond the bounds of the Republic. The vine dressers in the Ararat valley are considered the best and most experienced in the Soviet Union. Armenian collective farms have become famous for their yields of tobacco and sugar beet. Armenia won the banner of the U.S.S.R. State Committee of Defense on three different occasions for having raised larger crops of potatoes than any other region in the southern part of the Union. Individual collective farmers have won orders, including, in several instances, the Order of Lenin.





Boyakchan and Kurakchan, scientific workers at the Veterinary Institute.



Foyer, Palace of Pioneers, a favorite place of Erevan children.

Chapter Four

Foundations of the Fuller Life

Advances in the Social and Cultural Fields

Parallel to the unprecedented economic development of Soviet Armenia are the remarkable advances in the social and cultural fields.

Before 1920, Armenia had practically no fund for social and cultural undertakings. Last year the government allocated four hundred forty-three million rubles for them, which is sixty-seven and five-tenths per cent of the Republic's entire expenditures. Large sums are earmarked for public health and education.

As a result of the concern of the government for social welfare and the cultural enrichment of life, the material condition of workers and peasants has improved from year to year. Cities and villages have been rebuilt and new ones put on the map. Hundreds of miles of road have been constructed to connect rural districts with cities.

Villages and Cities

The appearance of the Armenian patriarchal village has undergone fundamental changes; rich harvests and high incomes have become common; and the life of the farmer has been transformed. There are in Armenia scores of rich and hundreds of thousands of prosperous collective farmers. Not unusual is the case of Shoghakat Harutunian who, with her family of four, earned in 1943, forty-four thousand one hundred sixty rubles in cash, as well as one thousand one hundred seventy kilograms of wheat, two thousand kilograms of fruit, over one thousand liters of wine, and large quantities of butter, cheese, vegetables and meat.

As a result of the prosperity of the farmer and the care and encouragement of the government, art, science and education have been definitely strengthened in the life of the village. New houses, school buildings, clubs, offices, electric light and power plants, radio and telephone networks, medical clinics and institutes, kindergartens, home libraries, modern furniture, pianos, and other attractions now form part of that life.

During 1938 and 1939 alone, collective farmers built for themselves thirty-nine thousand eight hundred ninety-nine homes. This year the People's Commissariat suggested that rural districts establish eighty-eight maternity centers. The Department of Architecture has designed a number of typical cultural buildings for villages, among them four for rural libraries. It plans to build ninety collective farm clubs in eighteen districts.

The transformation which cities have undergone during the past twenty-five years is even more conspicuous than that of villages. Last year, large sums were provided for improvements in Erevan, Leninakan, Echmiadzin and Kirovakan. The budget provided twelve million rubles for Erevan alone.

Thirty years ago Erevan was an overgrown village of flat-roofed clay houses, "miserable hovels huddled in unsightly confusion" in a labyrinth of filthy, dingy, narrow streets and blind alleys. The few two-story buildings in the center of the city were of the accepted Tsarist official style erected all over the empire in cheerless monotony, without regard to geography or history. The city was enveloped "with dreary regularity" in "clouds of stinging, gritty dust" from the sandy slopes of the Kanakirs. The wind whipped "the rubbish and filth and paper of the streets into a column that filled eyes, ears and mouths . . . the gutters that ran the length of the streets were merely dirty ditches. The public hydrants were in a bad state, the puddles around them never dried." [1] Its excellent water, among the best in Europe, was not utilized. A main highway which led into the city from

[1] Marietta Shahinian, "Erevan Transformed," *Information Bulletin,* Embassy of the U.S.S.R., Washington, D. C., September 8, 1945.



The Stepan Shahumian Square in Erevan.



A street in Alaverdi, industrial town in Armenia.

Ararat and out of it in the direction of Lake Sevan was the only thoroughfare.

Modern Erevan, in contrast, is a little Paris, the "Paris of the Orient," as Walter Duranty has put it. It is rapidly becoming one of the leading industrial and cultural centers of the Soviet Union—with its luxuriant verdure, broad asphalt highways, factories, plants, public clubs and libraries, apartment houses, government buildings, schools, museums, most of them in styles embodying the latest improvements in modern design and the best traditions of ancient Armenian architecture, built for the most part of basalt and pink and mauve tufa, and ornamented with black and white marble.

Public Health and Social Welfare

Soviet Armenia has made conspicuous gains in public health and social welfare. In Tsarist days social insurance was unknown. Today all classes of workers are insured, without time limitations, against sickness, unemployment and age. In 1929 the Government set aside for this purpose four million two hundred eighty-eight thousand rubles, in 1934 twenty-one million rubles. The amount set aside this year is undoubtedly much larger. In 1940 Erevan had thirty-four research institutions, an observatory, a seismological station, a botanical garden, and a zoological garden. Today it has ten newspapers—six in Armenian, three in Russian, one in Azerbaidjan. The total number of books locally published per annum exceeds five million copies.

The record in public health and medical service of Soviet Armenia, as of the Soviet Union as a whole, is conspicuous. In pre-Soviet days the health of the people was in serious straits. There were no health services of any kind. Famine and pestilence had increased the death rate enormously, especially among children. In 1912 the Government had spent per capita, twenty-six kopeks on health and thirty-six kopeks on education; while on police protection and the upkeep of prisons per capita, five rubles and eighty-five kopeks. In the following year, there were in all Armenia thirteen small hospitals, with a total of one hun-

dred and forty beds, fifteen ambulances, and eleven field medical stations. These were staffed with thirty-eight physicians and eighty-five secondary specialists.

Between 1918 to 1920 the situation was worse. According to information given by local physicians and priests, there were in Echmiadzin in 1918, two hundred twenty-eight births against four thousand one hundred ninety-six deaths; in 1919, two hundred twelve births against one thousand two hundred eighty-nine deaths; and in the region of Khamarlu in 1919, eight hundred twenty births against eight thousand three hundred seventy deaths. Left to themselves, the starving and disease-ridden population would have been exterminated. Extraordinary effort and vast sums of money were needed to save the people from this terrible fate. Under the Soviets both the effort and the money were supplied. The death rate rapidly declined, the birth rate rose, until the odds in favor of the death rate were reversed. Armenia, which in 1919 had a population of seven hundred twenty-two thousand, now has a population close to one million five hundred thousand. Infant mortality dropped so low that it ceased to be a threat. Malaria decreased eighty-five per cent. Trachoma was wiped out. The country was rid of cholera, smallpox, and other contagious diseases.

Soviet Armenia built a capable and large medical staff. Medicine became the most important and honorable profession. The home visits of physicians increased seventy-five times; and hospital beds provided by the government, over fifty-five times. Forty per cent of all hospitals in the Republic have up-to-date equipment for physiotherapy; and more than half have X-ray equipment and laboratories.

A wide network of hygienic, prophylactic and curative institutes has been set up. As far back as 1924 the Tropical Institute of Erevan was organized, the second of its kind in the Soviet Union. Since then forty tropical stations, staffed with medical specialists, have been established.

At present there are in Armenia twelve hygienic-epidemio-



In the series of reliefs, "The Emancipated Women of the East," by Tarian.



In the series of reliefs, "The Emancipated Women of the East," by Tarian.

logical stations, forty-two hygienic-bacteriological laboratories, seven epidemiological foundations, one hundred and fifty antitoxin equipments, ten hospitals for contagious diseases, one hundred and twenty mineral water springs, psychiatric hospitals with special dispensaries, and a scientific institute for the study of microbes and epidemics. At the Arzni mineral waters springs, whose curative properties equal the waters of Aachen, Nauheim and Wiesbaden, heart and vascular ailments, rheumatism, and some disorders of the stomach and intestines are successfully treated.

Women and Children

The health and welfare of mothers and children are objects of the special interest of the Government. Mother and child clinics, nursery schools, milk kitchens, and children's dispensaries are organized throughout the Republic. Mothers receive full pay in their various occupations during the latter part of pregnancy and for some time after childbirth. Those with many children receive bonuses. In 1931 the newly established seasonal nurseries took care of fifty-six thousand three hundred fifty children, enabling their mothers to work during busy periods of the year. In 1936 there were fifty-eight nurseries in cities, and twelve in villages; in 1937, sixty-three in cities and thirteen in villages; in 1939, eighty-three in cities and twenty-seven in villages.

Women and children are objects of special attention beyond the requirements of health. They enjoy freedoms and have opportunities for growth and development rarely to be found in countries outside the Soviet Union.

Hundreds of outstanding women in industry, agriculture, the arts and sciences, and in government service enjoy the love and respect of the Armenian people. They work in factories, laboratories, universities, institutes, hospitals, clinics drawing plans for buildings, lecturing to students, investigating, experimenting, applying, ministering to the sick. Among them are Yughaper Avetisian, formerly a worker in a tobacco factory, now



"Pioneers," by Stepan Tarian.



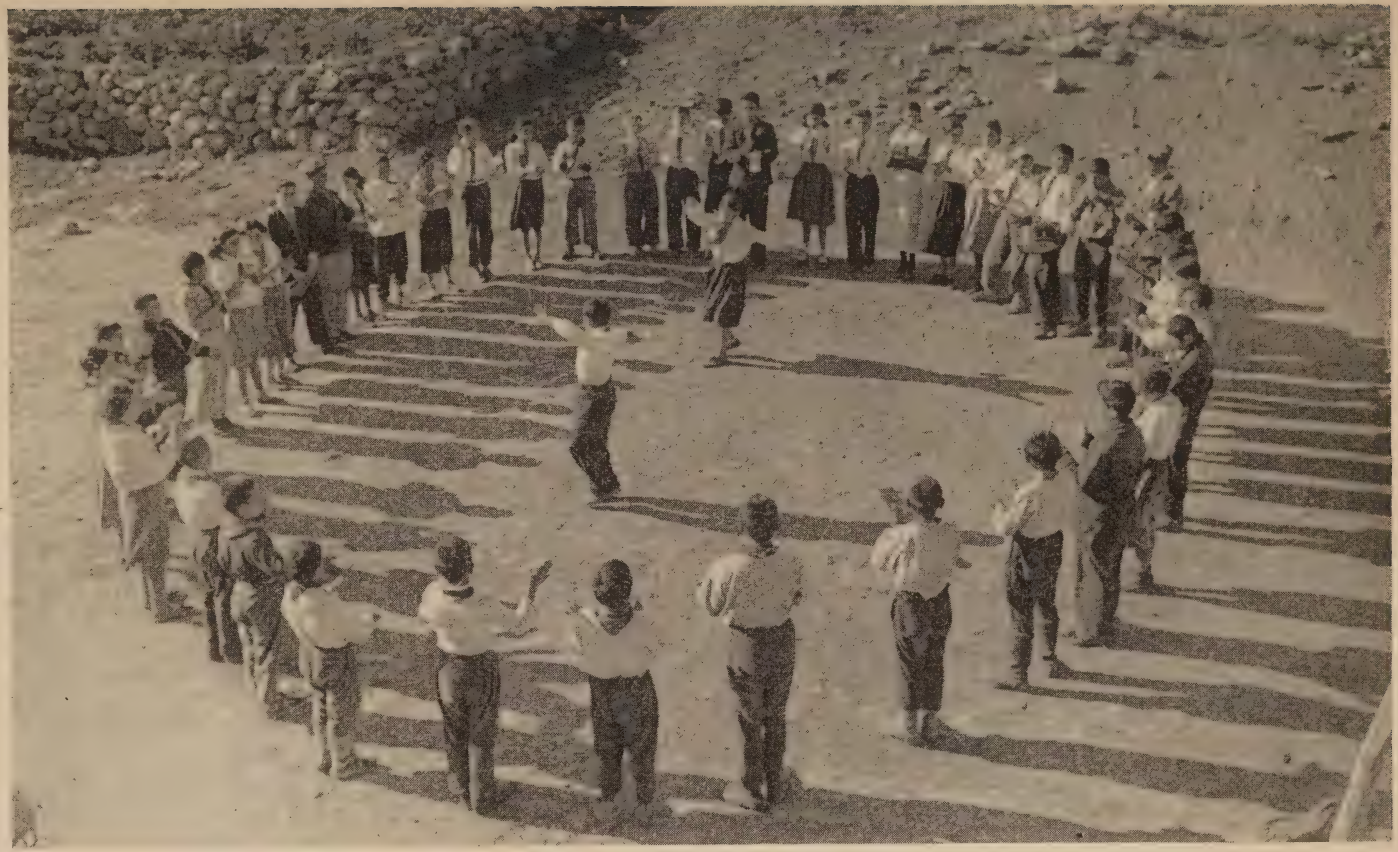
"Leisure Time," painting by Meher Apeghian.

a member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet; Arusiak Khachikian, formerly a school teacher, now People's Commissar of Education of the Armenian S.S.R.; Knarik Khachaturian, People's Commissar of Municipal Services; Natalia Martirosian, the hydraulic engineer, who planned the construction of the Sardarabad Canal; Marietta Shahinian, one of the most prominent authors in the Soviet Union; Tangakin Movsesian, brigade leader of the Arshalouys Collective Farm, and Zabel Budagian, important agricultural research worker, both decorated with the Order of Lenin; Maria Petrosian, Fellow in Philosophical Sciences, and chairman of the Armenian Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries; and Doctor Amalia Galustian, a carpenter's daughter, Director of the Research Institute of Epidemiology and author of four important scientific works on the war effort.

The freedoms and opportunities which children enjoy are illustrated by some of the projects established for them. The Erevan Juvenile Theatre, which is something more than an adult theatre brought down to the level of youthful minds, has a definite educational emphasis. It has in its repertory, works by such authors as Molière, Shakespeare, Ostrovsky, Dickens, Tumanian, and the young playwright and actor G. Beylerian. "One of my most interesting experiences," says Edwin Smith, "was an excellent performance of *Othello,* with that superb actor Avetik Avetisian playing *Iago.* At the final curtain some thirty or forty young people rushed to the front of the stage to cheer and applaud the actors. I could not help reflect that in America this sort of exhuberant reaction by teen-agers was usually reserved for such popular performers as Frank Sinatra and Harry James." [2]

At the Children's Library in Erevan, Mr. Smith saw children of all ages. "I passed from one to another to see what they were reading," he says. "The first child whom I questioned, a grave

[2] Edwin S. Smith, "My Visit to Soviet Armenia," address at the Twenty-fifth Anniversary Celebration of Soviet Armenia at the Manhattan Center, New York City, Sunday, December 2, 1945.



A national Armenian dance by Young Pioneers of the village Bezartshaj.

little lady of eleven years, was eagerly perusing our own *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* not in Armenian, but Russian! I found other children aged from twelve to fourteen also reading in Russian such works as a Gogol novel and Schiller's *The Robbers.* To find youngsters so completely at home in Russian, their second language, was an eloquent tribute to the soundness of Armenia's educational system. Leading poets and other writers come to the library on Sundays to give lectures to the children." [3]

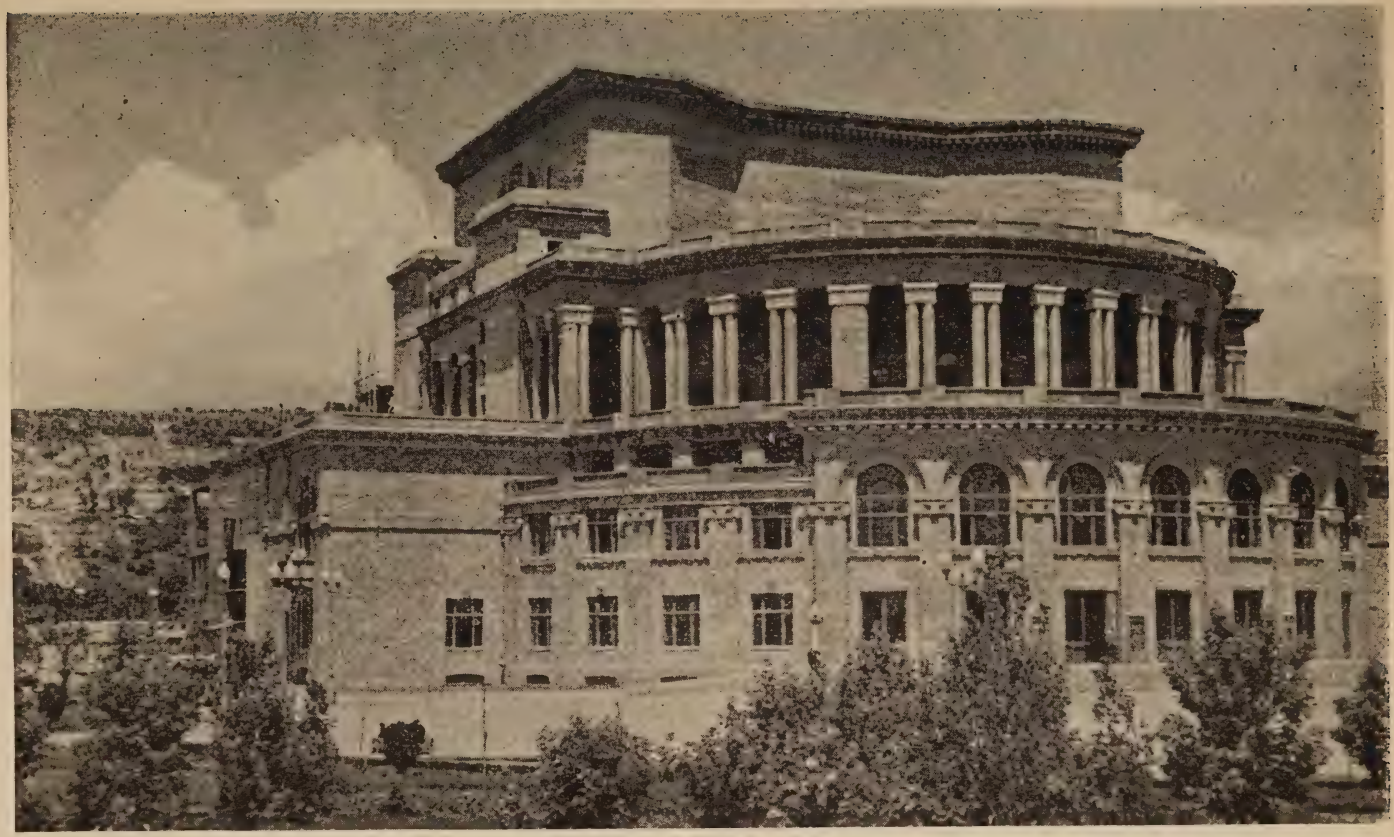
The children of Erevan also have a power station in the Children's Park, with which they light their theatre, motion-picture house, dining room, and bathing beach. With it, too, they run their railroad which operates three cars and accomodates one hundred and fifty young passengers. The railroad station has a marble stairway ornamented with plants and flowers.

Education

Education in Armenia has entered a new era. Under the Tsars there were four hundred sixty-five schools, one thousand one hundred seventy-seven teachers, and sixteen thousand thirty-three students. Only a few of the villages had parish schools. Secondary education was beyond the reach of all but the privileged few. Secular higher education was out of the question. Ninety-one per cent of the population was illiterate. Between 1918 to 1920 conditions were worse. In 1918-1919 there were only one hundred sixty-six schools with eighteen thousand students.

The Soviet Government, with its great faith in the potentialities and keen interest in the economic, social and intellectual development of the common man, changed all this. Its appropriations for public education increased greatly year after year, even during the war—one hundred two million in 1942; one hundred eighty-eight million in 1944; and two hundred sixteen million in 1945. The number and type of schools—elementary, secondary, technical, trade, industrial and higher schools—in-

[3] *Ibid.*



The Opera and Ballet Theatre, Erevan.

creased rapidly. Even the most distant village has its school. Thousands of young men and women can have college and university education.

Today Soviet Armenia, with a population of nearly one million five hundred thousand, has about one thousand elementary schools, close to three hundred secondary schools, sixty-eight technical schools, and more than ten institutions of higher learning, among them the State University in Erevan with eight faculties, the Polytechnic Institute, the Medical Institute, the Armenian and Russian Educational Institutes, the Pedagogical Institute of Leninakan, and the All-Union Veterinary and Animal Husbandry Institute, said to be superior to that in Paris both as to equipment and teaching staff.

These schools have a student body of over two hundred sixty thousand and a teaching staff of more than twelve thousand. The secondary schools have seventeen times as many students as in 1919 and 1920. In 1940 the thirty-nine technical schools and nine institutions of higher learning of Erevan had an enrollment of eighteen thousand. Three thousand young musicians and future actors study in the State Conservatory, the Dramatic Institute, the music schools and related institutions. Practically all the physicians, professors of medicine and secondary medical workers in the country are graduates of the medical schools of Armenia.

The Soviet authorities have also put forth much effort to educate and inform the adult. Illiteracy in Armenia is practically wiped out. Through a network of clubs, libraries, the radio, the theatre, the cinema, through exhibitions, lectures, study courses, the organization of dramatic, painting, ballet and other circles in factories, collective farms, hospitals, military barracks and public buildings, the cultural heritage of the past and the skills and achievements of the present are put at the disposal of workers and peasants. The trade unions and collective farms cooperate closely with the administration of the industrial and agricultural enterprises and the government in pursuing these ends.



Book House in Erevan, headquarters of the publishing houses of the Republic.



The new cinema theatre in Erevan.

Through these lay channels have come some of the outstanding artists in Armenia. Nicoghos Nicoghosian, gifted twenty-seven year old sculptor, started as a bookkeeper, drifted as a problem boy from school to school, first to study art, then the drama, and then choreography, until he was discovered and led to the Leningrad Academy of Arts. Datevik Sazandarian, a soloist with a beautiful mezzo-soprano voice and the pride of the Erevan stage, was discovered in a factory working as a technician and was trained in a music school. David Poghosian, the dramatic tenor, was at one time a plumber.

The reading public has grown at an astonishing rate. In pre-Soviet Armenia, there were altogether thirty libraries; and in the forty-five years between 1868 and 1914 only twenty-five newspapers and periodicals were published.

Today there are in Armenia fifteen hundred libraries and reading clubs, an average of one to each one thousand persons. The Public Library in Erevan now has two million books and twenty-five thousand compositions in its music section. The separate Children's Library contains forty thousand volumes. For a city of the size of Erevan whose library system started twenty-four years ago with forty thousand volumes presented by a benevolent society of Tbilisi and other private sources, these facts and figures represent a truly phenomenal growth.

In 1936 there were also thirty-six newspapers and seven magazines, with a total circulation of thirty-two million nine hundred thousand. The number rose to sixty-two newspapers and sixteen monthly periodicals before the Soviet Union's entry in the war. In 1939, four million seven hundred five thousand volumes were issued under six hundred fifty different titles; and the total number issued since 1920 is thirty-seven million three hundred thousand volumes under seven thousand six hundred fifty-eight different titles. Against the three thousand seven hundred nineteen books in Armenian published between 1512 and 1920, the State Publications put out five thousand books in Armenian between 1920 and 1945, that is, slightly over twenty

times as many books per year during the past twenty-five years as during the preceding four hundred and eight years.

During the war the readers' division of the Public Library alone issued two hundred thousand books, of which only fifty thousand were on war and defence. Today there are one thousand eight hundred eighty-two libraries. Every village has its small library.

One of the delegates to the recent Ecclesiastical Convention in Echmiadzin declared that Armenians abroad cannot conceive the sums their brothers in Soviet Armenia are spending on books and other cultural items. Every home has its library, however humble. And the best gift one may give a friend is a book.

Religion

Religion in Armenia entered a new era with the Revolution, when church and state were separated, and conditions were created for the liberalization and modernization of the church. There is no doubt that today the Armenian Church, whatever her losses economically and in membership, is stronger spiritually than she has been for a long time.

Much of what has been said in western Europe and America on religion in the Soviet Union does not correspond to the facts. The notion prevails that it has been officially discouraged and persecuted equally in all parts of the Union. But such is not the case. Religion is less stereotyped and enjoys more freedom in Armenia and the Soviet Union in general than in some European countries.

There are factors other than narrow dogmatic ideology which govern the status of the church there. The Armenian Church was never treated on quite the same basis as the Russian Orthodox Church, even in the critical days of the Revolution. Many of the stories about the Soviet persecution of the See of Echmiadzin were not true, and others were exaggerated. Echmiadzin's relations with the Soviet Armenian government were friendly. For centuries the clergy of the Armenian Church had been identified with the sufferings and the struggles for the

emancipation of the people, much as the bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church under Tatar yoke. They were not, like the bishops of later Russia, civil servants, governors, and the recipients of special honors. What was more natural than that the Armenian Soviet authorities should be on agreeable terms with the Armenian Church? Walter Duranty, in a recent letter, states that in 1933, when he visited Armenia, "the Armenian Church had . . . greater influence and freedom than any Church in the U.S.S.R."

During the war years the relations between church and state became friendlier in Armenia as in other parts of the Soviet Union. The rapprochement was due, as Premier Stalin in 1945 pointed out to Hewlett Johnson, to the growth of the confidence of both church and state in each other's patriotism.

Archbishop Cheorekjian, the acting Catholicos during the war years, distinguished himself by organizing the David of Sassoon Tank Column Fund among Armenians in the Soviet Union and abroad. For this, and for otherwise bringing the moral and material support of his church to the war effort of the country, he was decorated with the medal, "For the Defense of the Caucasus."

Today the church in Armenia is not only free, but enjoys the respect and aid of the government. The National Ecclesiastical Congress in Echmiadzin last summer was made possible because the government allowed more than a hundred clerical and lay delegates of the Armenian Church in seventeen countries of Europe, America, Asia and Africa to attend it and take part in the election of the new Catholicos. The delegates were elected by the Armenian Church Councils in their respective countries. The Soviet Government went out of its way to assist in the transportation of these delegates. Those from the eastern and midwestern states of the United States were transported by plane from Constanza to Erevan; and those from California, from San Francisco to Erevan—all at the expense of the Soviet Government. The same was probably true of the transportation of the



The newly elected Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos
of all the Armenians, George VI.

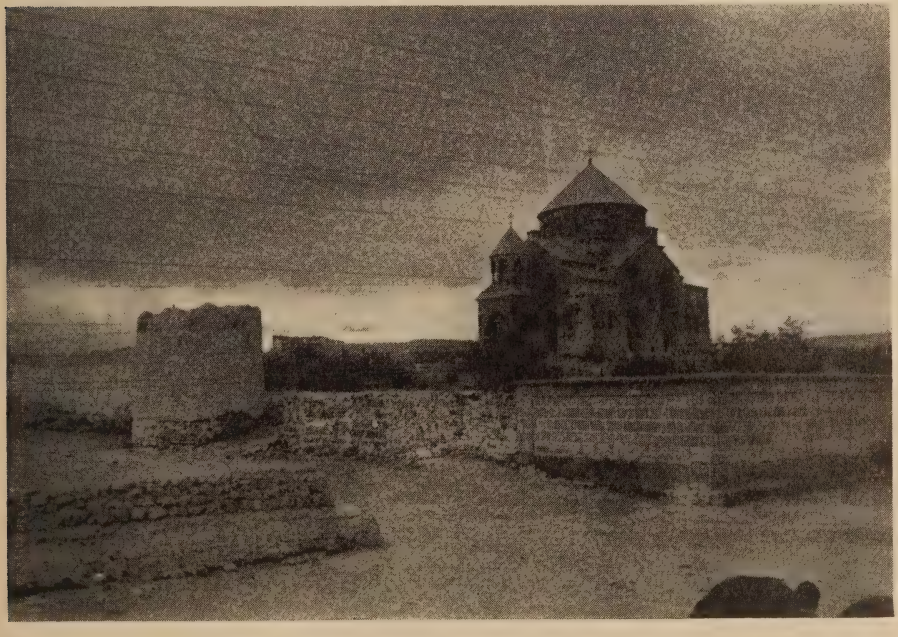
delegates from other countries. In Armenia they were the guests of the Armenian Government.

According to the delegates from the United States and the other countries, the Government did not in the least interfere in the deliberations and activities of the Congress. The Catholicos was elected unanimously by them, and ordained in his new office without the approval of any governmental authority. In pre-Soviet days, under the Tsars and Sultans, such approval was indispensable.

The presence at the Congress, as delegates and guests, of leading Soviet Armenian citizens is incontrovertible evidence of the respect and honor which religion today enjoys in Armenia. Among those present were Avetik Isahakian, the poet laureate of Armenia, who was chairman of several sessions of the Congress; Professor Ashot Ter Abrahamian, the special emissary of the acting Catholicos in 1944 in the Middle East, who addressed the Congress twice; Martiros Sarian, the dean of Soviet painters now candidate for deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.; Professor Stepan Malkhasiantz, lexicographer and authority on the Armenian language; Professor Ararat Gharibian; Stage Director Armen Armenian; Tigran Hakhumian, writer; Yervant Khodjik, art worker; Garegin Levonian, poet; and Margaret Hambartzumian, woman architect from Tbilisi.



The principal Cathedral in Echmiadzin. Built in 303 A. D.



Church of Saint Hripsimé in Echmiadzin.



The Ensemble of Armenian Song and Dance in "Hoy Nazan."

Chapter Five

The Armenian Renaissance

The Arts

Under the diligent care of the government, Armenian art has developed rapidly and fruitfully. All possible means are employed to enable writers, composers, actors, directors, painters, and artists to devote their time to creative work. Last year the government earmarked thirty-one million rubles for art.

The Theatre and Opera

In pre-Soviet Armenia, the stage consisted of little more than amateur theatrical performances organized at irregular intervals. Today there are twenty-eight theatres, of which twenty-four are Armenian, two Russian, one Azerbaidjan, and one—the only one in the world—Kurdish. The Kurdish Theatre has given more than a thousand stage programs since its founding in 1937. In the first five months of 1945, it gave performances in twenty-five collective farms.

There are also popular Armenian theatres in Tbilisi, Baku, and Karabagh. Tbilisi and Baku have large Armenian populations, running into many hundred thousands. Karabagh is an Autonomous Region, with ninety per cent of its population Armenian.

Among the most noted Armenian theatres is the Suntukian State Dramatic Theatre. It has presented to the Armenian public, Ostrovsky, Gorky, Schiller, Baronian, Suntukian and Shirvanzate. During its visit to Moscow in 1942, the Suntukian Theatre received popular acclaim and the recognition of theatrical and musical critics. Among its actors, ten are People's Artists of the Republic, and three Stalin Laureates. Vahram

Papazian has played in the role of *Othello* in Leningrad, Paris, Constantinople, and other European cities. Vagharsh Vagharshian, a gifted actor, has more than ten plays to his name, some of which have been translated into Russian.

The Spendiarov Opera and Ballet Theatre is noted in the entire Soviet Union. During the short period of its existence, it has developed a strong cast. Its orchestra, which in 1923 consisted of twenty-six musicians, by 1943 had grown into one hundred and twenty instruments. Among its noted artists are Haiganoush Danielian, People's Actor of the Soviet Union, and one-time holder of the Rubenstein Prize; and Shara Dalian, Galoust Gabrielian and D. Poghosian, Honored Artists of the Republic. Its repertory includes such Armenian, Russian and European works as Spendiarov's *Almast* and *Khandut,* Tigran Chukhajian's *Arshag II,* Aram Khachaturian's *Gayané,* Armen Tigranian's *Anoush,* and *Ivan Susanin, Eugene Onegin, Queen of Spades, Barber of Seville, Rigoletto, Faust, Carmen, Aida* and *Othello.*

"The Armenian Theatre," says Edwin Smith, who spent a week in Armenia in the summer of 1945, "is internationally known particularly for its splendid performances of Shakespeare. In 1942, at the very time when the Germans were trying to batter their way through the Caucasus, there were playing in Erevan rival performances of *Hamlet,* one actor portraying the Danish prince as an active character, the other as a passive person swept along by the stream of events." [1]

Soviet Armenian artists have also contributed to the theatre in other parts of the Soviet Union. Vakhtangov became famous under the Soviet regime, and revolutionized the theatrical world with his presentation of the *Countess Torandre,* played seven hundred times in the dramatic theatre named after him, which is one of the best in modern Russia. Reuben Simonov, Stalin Prize winner, one of the most popular actors and directors in

[1] Edwin S. Smith, "My Visit to Soviet Armenia," address at the Twenty-fifth Anniversary Celebration of Soviet Armenia at the Manhattan Center, New York City, Sunday, December 2, 1945.



Members of the Armenian State Song and Dance Ensemble, demonstrating the steps of an Armenian national dance.

Moscow, is chief director and producer of the Vakhtangov Theatre, has worked in the Uzbek Theatre, found time to apply himself to the opera, and staged performances in the Moscow Grand Opera House.

The first motion picture studio was established in Erevan, some twenty years ago. There were no Armenian artists, stage directors, or cameramen it could draw upon then. Today the national studios have modern motion picture equipment, and a large personnel of actors, directors, and script writers trained on the job. They have produced scores of films which enjoy popularity throughout the Soviet Union. During the war the Erevan Film Studios did their utmost to serve the cause of victory, by depicting the struggle of the Soviet peoples against the Nazi invaders in the occupied territories, as in the picture, *The Bride;* by bringing to the attention of the people the struggles of their ancestors against the despotic rule of the Persian and Ottoman Empires, as in the picture, *David Bek;* by keeping the people aware of the achievements of the country under the Soviet system, as in the documentary film depicting the first twenty years of Soviet Armenian progress; and by releasing over forty films dealing with Armenia's part in the war effort.

Music

The Armenian Philharmonia consists of a symphony orchestra, two string quartets, the famous Komitas Quartet, the Spendiarov Quartet, a folk song and folk dance ensemble, a jazz band, and other ensembles. The folk song and folk dance ensemble consists of ninety artists. The Philharmonia has branches in Leningrad, Kirovakan, Dilichan, Alaverdi, Ghamarloo and Hoktemberian. The great *a cappella* chorus of Armenian song was to start last year.

The attention of public opinion of the entire Soviet Union has been attracted by the concerts of Armenian music organized in Moscow and Tbilisi. The Komitas Quartet is said to be among the finest of its kind in the world.

Contemporary Armenian composers, like Aram Khachatur-



Mrs. Haiganoush Danielian, operatic singer, People's Artist of the U.S.S.R.



Aram Khachaturian, composer, gives some pointers to the pianists who are to perform his new works.

ian, Haro Stepanian, Vano Muradeli, Karo Zakarian and others, are well known far beyond Soviet Armenia. Best known among them, of course, is Aram Khachaturian, twice a Stalin Prize winner, though only in his fortieth year. Khachaturian's name is placed at his Alma Mater in Moscow beside those of Alexander Skriabin and Serge Rachmaninoff. Here in America some music critics have found him excelling Tschaikowsky in the use and adaptation of the folk music of his people.

During the war years Khachaturian's works, as the works of other artists, centered on the theme of the great struggle. His *Symphony* in four movements is concerned mainly with the triumph of optimism and the victory of the will of the people over the sinister forces of Hitlerism. His ballet has as its central figure a young patriotic collective farm woman, who would rather give up her traitor husband than lead a private life divorced from the happiness and destiny of her people.

Whatever themes Khachaturian pursues, he remains an Armenian. That is the case with other Armenian composers. Their operas generally have as subject matter, Armenian historical personalities, legendary heroes, revolutionary characters, the life of the people, as Spendiarov's *Almast,* Armen Tigranian's *Anoush,* Tigran Chukhajian's *Arshag II,* Azat Manuelian's *Sassoontsi David,* and Haro Stepanian's *Katch Nazar.*

Soviet Armenian music is oriented to the needs and interests of the people. Alexander Spendiarov's works were inspired by the scenes and people with whom he was intimate. He was sensitive to folk art. He borrowed the music of the people, enriched it, and returned it to them. What Arkadievich Ureklian said concerning the purpose of his recent Armenian national anthem is true of the purpose of Armenian composers in general. His purpose, he said, had been to write an anthem "in simple language, understandable by both the peasant and the scientist."

Painting and Sculpture

Armenian painting and sculpture, and the graphic arts in general, have received high tribute from distinguished critics in

the Soviet Union. Martiros Sarian, the dean of all living Soviet painters and founder of the distinctively Armenian school of painting, is known to art lovers everywhere. He has exhibited at many international shows and his paintings hang in leading art galleries in most of the capitals in Europe and in New York and Los Angeles.

Sarian was originally a landscape painter, inspired by his native land. Later, as others, he caught the enthusiasm borne of the newly won Soviet freedoms. His interest in portraiture he attributes to the central place given to man in the new order. He is now working on portraits of Avetik Isahakian, Stepan Zorian, H. Shirazi, H. Danielian and other artists, men of letters, and war heroes.

"I found Armenian art delightful," says Edwin Smith. "The drawing and mood of the paintings are graceful and sensitive. The color is exceptionally lively as befits the work of artists who create in the clear air of a Southern country bathed in bright sunshine. In Armenian art, one can discern the great feeling for design and lightness of touch which characterizes the art of the Middle East." [2]

Armenian sculpture has as its theme the rebirth of modern Armenia, the life of her talented sons and daughters, and the war. Nicoghos Nicoghosian's series on Armenian men and women in their intimate everyday surroundings includes portraits of Academician M. Abeghian, out for a stroll with an umbrella in hand; Academician Avetik Isahakian, hurriedly leafing the pages of a book; Academician H. Ajarian, lecturing to a body of students; and People's Artist Manuelian, out strolling in a broad-brimmed hat. Ara Sarkissian has found in the victories of the Red Army great inspiration and release of creative energy. Among his current works are "The Invincible Caucasus," and a bust of Stalin in his Marshal's uniform.

[2] *Ibid.*



Lenin Square in Erevan.



Karo Halabian, vice president of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Architecture, explains to executives of the Stalingrad city Soviet his project for the restoration of their city.

The architecture of Soviet Armenia, too, has witnessed a renaissance. Soviet Armenians in our day have produced splendid models of an indigenous national architecture, in which the style of ancient Armenian architecture, famed for thousands of years, is blended with the natural lines of the Araratian valley and the modernistic forms of the present age.

The center of Erevan has been completely rebuilt in the past ten years. Avet Badalian, a member of the Soviet delegation to the United Nations Conference at San Francisco, said that he has visited the Armenian capital every five years and each time found Erevan unrecognizably new. The monumental granite-faced edifice of the Spendiarov Opera and Ballet Theatre, with its gigantic oval, is among the most conspicuous buildings.

Current architectural projects include a triumphal arch in honor of the Red Army, new premises for the Armenian Academy of Sciences, the edifice of the State Library, the Astronomical Observatory, a new architectural ensemble on the right bank of the Zanga River, and plans for one- and two-story houses. The people are deeply interested in the projects. Peter Smollett in his article, "Through Trans-Caucasia in War Time," speaking of Erevan, states that "it was extraordinary to see the detailed knowledge everyone had of the exact plans for the rebuilding of the whole town. Every citizen seemed to have studied them attentively as a matter of personal concern." [3]

Among noted architects are Karo Halabian, George Tamanian, Ara Sarkissian, Markos Grigorian, and Isabekian. Karo Halabian is the most outstanding Soviet Armenian architect. He is Vice-President of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Architecture, Chairman of the committee for the rebuilding of the city of Stalingrad, designer of the imposing Theatre of the Red Army in Moscow, co-architect of the Soviet Pavilion at the 1939 New York World's Fair and the Palace of the Soviets in Moscow.

[3] *Soviet Union News*, Delhi, India, December, 1944, p. 388.

Most recently, he was commissioned to rebuild the city of Sofia in Bulgaria.

Literature

Armenian literature, which at the end of World War I almost died out, found a new home and renewed its vitality in Soviet Armenia. The names of Avetik Isahakian, Derenig Demirchian, Nairi Zarian and Marietta Shahinian represent the old and young Soviet Armenian poets and writers.

Avetik Isahakian is recognized in the Soviet Union and abroad as the founder of the Armenian lyric. "This poet," wrote Valery Brusov, "has so truly sounded the timbre of his people's lyrics that some of his verses seem like folk songs of nameless bards." More than eighty of his songs are cherished and sung by his people. His verses in the war and his powerful appeals to his people are well known in Soviet Armenia and Armenian circles abroad. His songs were taken by Soviet warriors into their dugouts and the heat of battle, and are still sung by them on the plains of Ararat. His popularity is illustrated by the fact that farmers with donkeys loaded with panniers of grapes and peaches, jugs of "matsun," and boxes of homemade cakes stop at his residence to pay their respects to him.

Isahakian's poetry is Armenian in content and style. It is a living chronicle of his people through the centuries, driven from their homes, wandering unhappily, hoping and aspiring, struggling for independence, and building when and where they can. His epic poems are stirring appeals to forget the past and pursue the new life of the new day.

His poem, "Abul Ala Mahari," as well as some of his other works, have been translated into many European and Eastern languages. He has been awarded the Order of Lenin, and was recently elected to the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.

Derenig Demirchian is a prolific writer, poet, novelist and playwright. For its artistic qualities and ideas his *Our Native Land* is regarded as one of the best works of the Armenian

drama. He has been awarded the Order of Lenin and the Order of the Red Banner of Labor.

Marietta Shahinian's writings are popular throughout the Soviet Union.

It is noteworthy that the works of many Armenian authors besides those of Isahakian, Demirchian and Shahinian, have become the possession of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. Between 1932 and 1934 more than thirty books by Armenian authors were translated into Russian, Ukranian, Georgian and Azerbaijan Turkish. Conversely, Armenian literature was enriched by translations of important works in these languages into Armenian.

Science and Scholarship

Prior to the establishment of Soviet Armenia, there was no Armenian science, and very little that could be called Armenian scholarship. Most contributions by Armenians to science and scholarship were credited to those countries where they were made. Soviet Armenia for the first time in several centuries offered Armenian scholars and scientists an opportunity to work in Armenia as Armenians on behalf of Armenia. As a result, world culture in general has been enriched.

Great progress has been made in the study and enrichment of Armenian classical music. Research foundations have fostered the study of the musical treasures of outstanding Armenian composers. There are now in progress studies on Komitas, Ekmalian, Spendiarov, Spiridon, Melikian, Korgan and other eminent Armenian composers.

During the past few years, the institutes of language, literature and history in Armenia made a new appraisal of the rich literary and cultural heritage of our people through the study and publication of the works of Abovian, Nalbandian, Broshian, H. Hagopian and Isahakian.

In 1942 Joseph Orbeli announced that archeological excavations in Armenia were supplying new subject matter to scholars working on *The History of the Armenian People from the*



A statue of Khachatur Abovian, the founder of modern Armenian literature, in Erevan.



Academician L. Orbeli and Professor Adrian of Cambridge University, England, during inspection of biological station at Koltushi-Pavlovo, at the jubilee session of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences in Leningrad.

Beginning to the Present Day, a five-volume work. Among published works of scholars may be mentioned Professor Kh. Samuelian's *The History of Ancient Armenian Jurisprudence;* V. Chaloyan's *Concerning Eznik of Koghp,* the first philosopher of the peoples of the Soviet Union; *The Memoirs of Ghazaros Aghayan;* the first volume of Professor Manuk Abeghian's *History of Ancient Armenian Literature;* the first five volumes of the complete works of Mikael Nalbandian, issued by Abeghian; the *Dictionary of the Armenian Language* of Stepan Malkhasiantz; and Toros Toramanian's *History of Armenian Architecture.* Doctor Abrahamian, philologist, has been engaged on the texts of Ohanness Sarkavag, the Armenian Philosopher, and has prepared for the press the complete works of Anania of Shirak, the seventh-century Armenian mathematician. Academician Ohanessian has written on the medieval Armenian works on medicine.

Professor Hrachia Ajarian's fruitful scholarship [4] constitutes a continent of achievements, and illustrates the limitless opportunities the Soviet order has opened to men who unite in themselves, to an extraordinary extent, grit, grey matter and energy.

This seventy-year-old wizard of modern philological scholarship started his career at the age of sixteen with the study of the unwritten language of the Lass people of Turkey,[5] and the preparation of a grammar and vocabulary for it. His *Studies of the Lass Language* attracted the attention of the Paris Philological Society, and at the age of twenty he was elected a member to it.

Since the publication of that work in 1891 Hrachia Ajarian has published fifty-nine studies. Among his major works is *The Ethnological Dictionary of the Ancient Armenian Language,* in publication in Erevan for the past seven years, which consists of seven volumes and a total of nine thousand pages. Only eight languages have dictionaries of this type, and the Greek, which

[4] The material on Professor Ajarian and his work is based on a statement made by him in response to a request, for information on his studies, made on the occasion of the two hundred and thirtieth anniversary of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.

[5] A language closely related to Georgian.

consists of fifteen hundred pages, is regarded the most extensive. In response to the wishes of Professor Meillet of the Sorbonne, his former teacher, this dictionary is being translated into French, in an abridged form. It is also being translated into Georgian by Abulutze, Professor Ajarian's student, by the decision of the Georgian Academy of Sciences.

Professor Ajarian's doctoral dissertation, *The Classification of Armenian Dialects,* is regarded a new branch of philology. During the First World War and the succeeding years some thirty Armenian dialects went out of existence, with the total destruction of the people who used them. His *Ethnological Dictionary of the Ancient Armenian Language* is the only record of these dialects.

Among Professor Ajarian's other published works are the first volume of his *Dictionary of Armenian Proper Names,* with three other volumes in the press; the first volume of his *History of the Armenian Language,* with the second volume in the press; and his Kurdish-French and French-Kurdish dictionary of the Nor Payazit Kurdish dialect, whose last fifty families were killed during World War I.

In addition to his fifty-nine published works, Professor Ajarian has twenty unpublished manuscripts. Among them is his study of the comparative grammar of all the languages of the world. He started this work soon after he settled in Erevan. There are, says Professor Ajarian, fifteen hundred living and dead languages in the world. Nine hundred of these have no writing, hence no grammar. The remaining six hundred have either writing or both. His *General Comparative Grammar of the Languages of the World* embodies a study of these six hundred languages. This monumental study is not yet completed. Professor Ajarian hopes to make it his *magnum opus.*

"For more than twenty years," says the Professor, "I have been busy with scientific researches in the Motherland, Armenia. These years are the happiest in my life, when I planned, executed and published my most important works."



Fishermen on Lake Sevan. Reproduction of painting by Arakelian.

Three major institutions in Armenia which have made important contributions to research and scholarship are the Matenadaran, the Literary Museum, and the Public Library.

The Matenadaran was founded seven centuries ago. Its collection has doubled since 1914. It includes over eleven thousand manuscripts pertaining to history, philosophy, medicine, astronomy and mathematics, as well as a rich collection of medieval poets. Some of these date back to the fifth century of our era, when Armenian script first appeared. Others are in Arabic, Iranian, Turkish, Russian and other languages, and deal with the history of Byzantium, Georgia, Iran, India and Mongolia.

There are in the Matenadaran old translations of the Greek philosophers—Aristotle, Plato, Zeno—and European writers of the Middle Ages. Zeno's *On Nature* is preserved only in one of these Armenian translations. Many of the manuscripts have silver and gilt bindings of the finest workmanship, and the illuminations which accompany their text are priceless examples of ancient Armenian art.

The Matenadaran also has an exceedingly valuable collection of archive documents—two hundred thousand of them—from the tenth to the twentieth centuries, and an extensive library of printed matter of considerable historical interest. Some of the volumes are no bigger than a pocket matchbox and others weigh as much as seventy-five pounds.

After 1920, and particularly beginning with 1939 when the collection was moved to Erevan, an intensive study of the manuscripts was undertaken. The Matenadaran became a scientific laboratory, where scholars of note and eager beginners carried on studies in their respective fields. By 1942, the names of two hundred old Armenian poets were discovered and new ones have since been added to the list. Last year a group of young members of the Academy of Sciences led by Doctor Ter Minasian were engaged in a study of the voluminous Armenian poetry and prose of the Middle Ages. Chemists have done some very

interesting work in exploring the secret of paints used by Armenian artists for their delicate illuminations.

During the war, research at the Matenadaran continued without interruption, though many members of the research staff left for the front. The Matenadaran increased its collection considerably, acquiring more than one hundred and thirty new manuscripts, a twelfth-century Bible, the original of a fourteenth-century anthology, works of medieval Armenian and Persian poets, prayer books, dictionaries, annals and textbooks.

The Literary Museum

The Literary Museum started in 1922 as a part of the Armenian State Museum of Culture and History. In 1935, it was made an independent institution. Out of it developed the Dramatic Museum and the R. Melikian Music Foundation.

Within the past ten years, the Literary Museum came into possession of more than four hundred archives, and many photographs, works of art, and other valuable objects. Its documents, like those of the Matenadaran, run into hundreds of thousands, and have great value as sources for research in literature.

In addition to being a repository of manuscripts and objects, the Literary Museum has rendered useful service through exhibitions and otherwise popularizing its collections. It has permanent exhibits in the homes of Abovian and Tumanian, two great figures in modern Armenian literature. During the war years it organized two great exhibitions, one on "Soviet Armenian Literature," and the other on "The Fatherland in Literature."

The Armenian Public Library

The Armenian Public Library is one of the largest libraries in the Soviet Union. It houses more than two million books. Among them are the first Armenian printed volume, *Partatomar,* dated 1512, Venice; a fine set of the works of western utopians—Moore, Bacon, Campanello, Jacow, St. Nazaire, and other sixteenth and seventeenth century writers; the first edition of the



Members of the Armenian State Ensemble of Song and Dance.

famous French *Encyclopédie;* old editions of Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau and other thinkers of equal importance; a facsimile edition of the first set of works of William Shakespeare in folio; old editions of Russian writers of the eighteenth century, and translations of works by Homer, Virgil, Dante, Milton and other classical writers. The Library also has important archives, from which it has published the interesting work, *Tschaikowsky in the Caucasus.*

Like the Literary Museum, the Public Library carries on an educational program through exhibits and other services. Its bibliographical department gives daily reports on books and periodicals of public interest. During the war it published bibliographies on such subjects as "The Soviet People During the Great Patriotic War," "The Heroes of the Great Patriotic War," and "The Great Soviet Commanders"; and organized exhibits on such themes as "Our Commanders," "Women and the Great Patriotic War," and "Anti-Aircraft Defense."

The Armenian Academy of Sciences

The development of science in Armenia is closely associated with the Armenian Academy of Sciences, and the Armenian Section of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, out of which it grew in 1935. Today the Armenian Academy has associated with it thirty research institutions and a staff of more than one thousand scientists. Outstanding Armenian scientists abroad are eligible for membership.

It is one of the leading centers for the study of the natural resources and the development of the national economy and culture in the Soviet Union.

The Armenian Academy has as its aim the raising of the economic and cultural standards of the people. Its institutes and specialists have been working to raise the standard of living of the people, open the way for new enterprises, increase the productive capacity of the people and the land, improve the conditions of health, and generally foster interest in education, the arts, and the sciences.

A striking illustration of the characteristic popular interest in science in Armenia is the attendance of hundreds of laymen at Professor B. Piotrovsky's defense of his doctoral dissertation on "The History of Urartu" in the Armenian Academy, when this highest academic institution in the Republic threw its doors open to the public to witness one of its most sacred functions.

Achievements and Projects

During the past five years more than two thousand works on science were published in Armenia. Among recent achievements in science are the development of a theory of the cluster structure of the interstellar absorption of light; the separation on Mount Aragatz of the component parts of cosmic rays, the measuring of their energy, and the discovery of a third component, all of which have a direct bearing on investigations of atomic energy; expeditions to various regions to make detailed reports on mineral ore deposits in the interest of promoting the development of the non-ferrous metal industry, and to study the plants of medicinal and industrial value not yet known to science.

Intensive work has been done in rare metals, especially in molybdenum. Large deposits of dolomites have been discovered, from which metallic magnesium may be obtained. Studies in shale and coal have been made and a method developed whereby the yield of their heat is raised up to seven thousand calories. Aluminum raw materials, nephelinithic cyanides and andalusites have been studied. New plants useful for fodder, food, dyeing industries and as substitutes for a number of medical herbs have been found. Archeological investigations have been made in the excavations near Ani, the medieval capital of Armenia, which are of the highest importance for the study of the history of the entire Near East.

Among current scientific projects are the development of methods that will increase the yield of crops and adapt lowland seeds to mountain conditions; the cultivation of drought-proof plants and the cross-breeding of wildplant life; the investigation



Observatory in Erevan.



Temporary headquarters of the Armenian Academy of Sciences, Erevan.

of problems connected with the synthesis of rubber and the development of new substances from acetylene; the preparation of a metallurgical map of the central and eastern regions of Armenia; the study of the remains of the Stone Age; excavations at Karmir Bloor, near Erevan, of an Urartu fortress, which twenty-six centuries ago was the administrative center of the Transcaucasus; the plans for a new astro-physics observatory near Byurakan, on the slopes of Aragatz; the construction of a station for the study of cosmic rays at a height of three thousand three hundred meters, the second of its kind in the world—the other is on Mt. Evans, in Colorado, at a height of three thousand meters.

In the field of medical research, conspicuous 'progress has been made. Medical science in Armenia is centered in the Medical Institute, the Tropical Institute, the Sanitary-Bacteriological Institute, and a series of scientific research stations. The work of the Medical Institute is conducted in five hospitals, four scientific research institutes, and many military hospitals that were established during the war. Significant work has been done especially in the study of malaria, intestinal troubles, tuberculosis, trachoma and skin diseases. Medical men have introduced newer and more effective methods of healing wounds and developed new medicines from local materials.

The work of Armenak Mnjoyan is an outstanding example of what individual scientists have done in medical research. Mnjoyan started in Erevan in 1924 with the manufacture of the first galenic ampullas from local drug material, valerian and mint drops, extracts for stopping hemorrhage, and other preparations. In 1944 he submitted a thesis on "Materials on the Synthesis of New Anaesthetic Means." At present he is a professor at the Erevan Medical Institute, and is in charge of the Institute's pharmaceutical laboratory, where a great deal of research is carried on in the study of anti-tuberculosis and anti-malaria preparations.

Outstanding Soviet Armenian Scientists

The Soviet Union has also offered Armenians outside Soviet



Students at work at the All-Union Veterinary and Animal Husbandry Institute in Erevan. The Institute trains veterinaries and skilled experts in animal husbandry for Armenia and the other Soviet Republics.



Measuring grapes at a zonal experimental station.

Armenia limitless opportunities for expansion in the sciences. Although there are only two and a half million Armenians in the entire Soviet Union out of a total population of one hundred ninety millions, the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences has in it six Armenians out of a total membership of one hundred and thirty-seven, that is, it has three times as many Armenians in it as the average of the total population of the Union. The Armenian members in the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences are Abraham Alikhanian, Leon and Joseph Orbeli, Karo Halabian, Hagop Manandian, and Victor Hambartsumian.

Alikhanian has been appearing in the American press lately as the Armenian scientific genius who is taking a leading part in the research on atomic energy in the Soviet Union. He is one of the youngest Soviet scientists.

Brigadier General Leon Orbeli, the first vice-president of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, head of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Medicine, and director of the I. P. Pavlov Institute is a leading Soviet physiologist. He initiated evolutionary physiology. He has achieved important results in the study of problems of pain, the function of the kidneys, and the activity of the organs of sense and digestion. *Lectures on the Physiology of the Nervous System* and *Conditioned Reflexes in Dogs* are two of his most outstanding works. For the former he was awarded the Stalin Prize. He was also awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labor. At the recent Jubilee Session of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, where a thousand scientists from the various parts of the world gathered, he read one of the main papers.

Joseph Orbeli, his brother, is the director of the famous Russian Hermitage Museum in Leningrad and the president of the Armenian Academy of Sciences. He is a well known archeologist, Orientalist, and authority on the Armenian language. He headed the Soviet delegation to Persia on the occasion of the one thousandth anniversary of the great Persian poet, Firdausi. He was awarded the Order of Lenin.

Another great Soviet Armenian personality in the field of

scholarship is Stepan Kechekian, whose works on political science and Soviet jurisprudence are used as text-books by students in law schools and seminaries. His earliest published works on the philosophy of law—the backgrounds of Spinoza's ethics, and the conceptions of natural law in Kant and Hegel—are still of great interest. He has a number of published works on the history of law, and a great treatise on the social and political background of Aristotle.

After the Revolution, Kechekian became noted as a great and gifted organizer of intellectual and educational life under the new order. For twelve years he served as dean in the universities of Saradov, Rosdov, Baku, and Moldova, and led in the reforms in the teaching of law. He lectured in the Moscow Law School, and worked with one of the departments of the U.S.S.R. Research Institute of Scientific Law. During the past quarter century Kechekian trained thousands of graduates and undergraduates. Many of them now occupy positions of trust as professors, deans and administrators in the law faculties in Erevan, Tbilisi, Baku, Saradov, and Kuibishev.

There are other important scientists and educators in the various institutes and universities of the Soviet Union, such as Professor Stepan Barkhudarian, secretary of the language and literature section of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, a great authority on the Russian language and literature, whose grammar is used in all the secondary schools of the Union; Academician Norair Sisakian, secretary of the biology section of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences; Doctor Alexi Jivelekian, authority on Italian and western European dramatic literature. A list of their names alone would fill paragraphs.

Mention should also be made here of Anastas Mikoyan, Hero of Socialist Labor, holder of the Order of Lenin, deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., People's Commissar of Foreign Trade, member of the State Defense Committee during the recent war, and member of the Politburo of the Communist Party. In the last capacity he is one of the nine top leaders of the Soviet Union.



Statue of fourteen-year old hero Ghugas Ghugasian in Erevan,
by S. Stepanian.

Chapter Six

The Supreme Test

Armenia Reborn Indeed

The recent war proved the stability of the Soviet Armenian state. The immediate and enthusiastic response of her people to the call to arms when the Nazis invaded the land, their dogged and gallant engagements at the various fronts, their heroic, self-sacrificing labor at home to feed the war effort of the nation, their unquestionable thirst for progress in the arts and sciences in the grim and frightful days of the war, all these indicate that Armenia was reborn indeed, and that henceforth she would take her rightful place among the family of nations.

On the War Front

There were almost three hundred thousand Armenians in the Red Army. One Armenian mountain village, Khentsoresk, gave to it several hundred soldiers and two hundred officers, among them a major general, three colonels, six lieutenant colonels, nine majors and twenty-nine captains. The fighting spirit and skill that Soviet Armenians displayed is now well known. As of May 1, 1944, more than sixteen thousand were awarded orders of the Soviet Union, more than eighty thousand were decorated for distinguished action at the front, more than seventy received the title Hero of the Soviet Union, and seventy-six[1] were raised to the rank of General. The world knows about Admiral Isahakoff, General Bagramian, Carapetian, Agachanian, Safarian, Nelson Stepanian, Ghugas Madoyan, Levon Darpinian, and many others.

[1] This is the latest figure received from Armenia when this book went to the press.

On the Home Front

The home front kept pace with the heroic struggle at the war fronts. From the first days of the war the Republic's plants, factories, and farms set to work to supply the front with ammunition, equipment, and provisions. By hard work Armenian industry managed within a short period to begin the production of over two hundred new types of armaments. A large part of this production was based on local raw materials.

Civilians worked tirelessly, as if they were in the army. They imposed upon themselves stiff deadlines and quotas as to time, labor, economy, efficiency and output, with the result that local factories and plants overfulfilled their plans considerably. Collective farmers did not lag behind the industrial workers. New tracts of land were brought into cultivation, the sowing area extended, livestock in the farms increased, fuel oil saved in the operation of farm machinery for the army's aircraft and tanks.

Intellectual Workers

Armenian intellectual workers also threw themselves heart and soul into the struggle. Writers, composers, artists, worked on war themes. Scientists studied the problems which had great importance for defense. Geologists discovered new deposits of useful minerals. Aram Khachaturian, in addition to his artistic contributions to the war, donated his Stalin award of one hundred thousand rubles to the cause of building more guns for the Red Army.

Women

The women played their heroic part, too, joining the ranks of the Red Army, fighting, helping the wounded and distinguishing themselves on most active fighting fronts. Thousands of housewives, daughters, and sisters hastened to the fields, factories and mills to replace their husbands, fathers and brothers who had gone to the front. They produced arms and ammunitions, sewed uniforms and gathered crops. The countryside became filled with girls and young women driving tractors.



Army General Bagramian, Commanding Officer of the troops of the First Baltic Front, and his Chief of Staff, Colonel-General Kurasov.



U.S.S.R. Fleet Admiral Ivan Stepanovich Isakov.



In the series of reliefs, "The Emancipated Women of the East," by Tarian.



In the series of reliefs, "The Emancipated Women of the East," by Tarian.

Youth and Children

Youth and children caught the spirit. Some two thousand youth brigades were formed, and thousands of boys and girls replaced their fathers and brothers who had gone to the war fronts. Over two hundred Armenian boys and girls aided in the restoration of Stalingrad. Schoolboys in Karabagh went into sericulture. They collected and delivered eleven thousand six hundred ninety-seven kilograms of cocoons. They fought losses during harvest, and gathered eighty-nine thousand two hundred forty-one kilograms of grain.

War Bonds, Tank Columns and Air Fleets

The people of Soviet Armenia joined the War Loan Campaign of the Soviet Union by buying three hundred twenty million rubles worth of war bonds. They donated fifty million rubles for the David of Sassoon Tank Column, and twenty million rubles for an air fleet. In one region, two million rubles were raised in ten days to build a squadron of fighter planes, and altogether eight million rubles were collected for aid for the Red Army and guerrillas. The president of one collective farm donated one hundred sixty thousand rubles for the defense of the Union and the building of new airplanes. A veterinary in a village donated fifty thousand rubles from his personal savings for the building of tanks.

Invincible Achievements

All this and much besides were but natural, for Armenians could not relinquish the great achievements they have made, and would defend to the end their Motherland whose help and guidance had made those achievements possible.



The Government Palace in Erevan.

Chapter Seven

The Revival of the Armenian Question

Aspects of the Armenian Question

The unparelled freedoms, securities, prosperity and progress of Soviet Armenia during the past twenty-five years, against the background of the protracted black and bloody history of a thousand years, have led Armenians everywhere to regard the Armenian Question settled, qualitatively.

The Question, however, has also a quantitative phase, so long as nine-tenths of historic Armenia remains within Turkey, unkempt and desolate, and close to a million and a half of the original Armenian inhabitants of the land, the survivors of the Turkish massacres, live as refugees in a score of lands throughout the world.

An International Issue Reborn

That phase of the Question, violated at the Lausanne Conference and silenced for some twenty years, once more became an international issue when the Armenian National Council of America submitted its now historic memorandum, "The Case of the Armenian People," to the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco,[1] and as, in country after country, Armenian National Councils were organized and raised their voices on behalf of the long-suffering victims of a tyranny and terror, which neither in degree nor in extent differed from the wrath that the Nazis poured on the innocent and hapless peoples of Europe.

[1] See Appendix B.

All Armenians Everywhere Demand

All Armenians everywhere—men and women, young and old, rich and poor, those in high places and the common folk, four millions of them, in Soviet Armenia, in the small Soviet Armenian Autonomous Region of Karabagh, the hundreds of thousands who live in Tbilisi and Baku and in other parts of the Soviet Union, those in Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria, Roumania, Iran, Iraq, the Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, France, the United States, South America, and the uttermost parts of the earth—all of them, without exception, demand Kars and Ardahan, and the Armenian Vilayets of Erzeroum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, which President Woodrow Wilson awarded to Armenia at the end of the First World War, acting for the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers in session at San Remo. They demand, too, the rest of the nine-tenths of historic Armenia still in Turkey. They demand that these territories, inhabited by their forefathers since time immemorial, where they themselves lived until the tragic years of the First World War, be annexed to Soviet Armenia, to enable them to return to their homes and fields and business, under conditions which would enhance and safeguard the free and fuller life.

The Spearhead of the Revival

It is commonly accepted now among Armenians all over the world that the Armenian National Council of America spearheaded the present reviving interest in the world in the Armenian Question and in Soviet Armenia. A brief sketch of the history of the Council and of the organizations which were initiated by it will show how this happened and how readily the conscience of the American people is responding to the just claims of the Armenian people.

Basic Unity

The outbreak of the Second World War created a certain degree of basic unity of thought among the Armenians in the United States, as it did among Americans in general. They

were led to this by their common concern for the security and welfare of their adopted country and the country of their origin. The common threat to the independence and way of life of the two countries led them to discover and emphasize the social and political values which were common to them, and to shake off their prejudices and be strengthened in their loyalty to both. The result was, especially among the politically conscious groups, a definite awareness of the need to coordinate and unify aims and activities around the common interests and objectives growing out of the war.

Beginning with October 8, 1943 the representatives of the Armenian Democratic Liberal Party, the Armenian Progressive League of America, and the Social Democrat Hunchakian Party, got together on a tentative basis to explore the possibilities of some kind of union among Armenian organizations, much along the same lines as the union during and for some years after World War I.

The Armenian National Council of America

The hoped for union was effected on March 19, 1944, under the name of the Armenian National Council of America. The charter member organizations were the Armenian Democratic Liberal Party, the Armenian Progressive League of America, and the Social Democrat Hunchakian Party. Soon, some twenty Armenian compatriotic societies joined the Council, in an advisory capacity, and about fifty local chapters were organized in various parts of the country. The Armenian General Benevolent Union, the basic philanthropic organization among the Armenians the world over, and the Armenian Churches expressed sympathy for the aims of the new body, and promised it their support. During the first two years of its existence, however, the Executive Committee of the Council consisted of nine representatives — three from each of the three charter member organizations.

Due to the organizational integration, experience, discipline, devotion, press and other facilities of the bodies which

constituted the Council, it voiced, successfully, the claims of the Armenian people, brought them once more to the attention of the world, and made a good beginning in winning outstanding and influential Americans to the Armenian cause.

At the end of the second year of its existence, as the situation improved, the Council made one successful move after another to broaden its base and increase the organizational membership on the Executive Committee, by taking in representatives from the Armenian compatriotic societies and the public at large.

Aims and Policies

At the time of its organization in March 1944 the Council adopted for its platform the rallying of Armenians and Americans of Armenian origin around the war effort of the United States, the initiation and support of projects in aid of Soviet Armenia and the Soviet Union, the defense of the rights of refugee Armenians and their repatriation on Armenian soil. It also recognized the Government of Soviet Armenia as possessing the sovereign right to define and promote the interests and claims of the Armenian people.

Early Activities and Accomplishments

With these objectives the Council set out upon what is proving to be a career of great historic significance. During the first year of its existence it brought together and harnessed to work groups and organizations which hitherto had been at loggerheads; it rallied the Armenians in the country around the war effort of the United States and the United Nations; it organized and promoted the celebration of the twenty-third and twenty-fourth anniversaries of Soviet Armenia as a united Armenian project; it raised $35,000.00 for warm and new clothes for children in Armenia and for medical supplies for a hospital in Erevan; it filled twenty-five thousand kits at a cost of $75,000.00, and as such overfulfilled its quota more than any other nationality, in the drive of the Russian War Relief

to fill and send three million kits to the Soviet Union; it campaigned for a boat-load of clothing for Armenia; it used the facilities at its disposal to encourage the buying of war bonds, and the giving to the National War Fund, the American Red Cross, and like organizations; and it supported the Quarter Million Dollar Campaign of the Armenian General Benevolent Union. During its first year, obviously, the Council was predominantly a philanthropic organization. During its second year it again aided the Armenian General Benevolent Union, this time in the latter's Half Million Dollar Campaign, with the understanding that half of the funds raised would go to Soviet Armenia.

Opportunities and Responsibilities

At the beginning of its second year, the approaching total victory of the United Nations silhouetted the reviving political hopes of minority peoples upon the forthcoming pattern of peace, and confronted the Council with the challenge to voice and implement the desire of their people to return to their homeland and there establish themselves, with their fellow-Armenians in Soviet Armenia, as a united, prosperous, happy nation, where they may pick up the threads of development, progress, and contribution to world civilization which were snatched from them by the semi-barbaric Turkish tribes, preying upon and devastating their land since the thirteenth century.

Delegation to the United Nations Conference in San Francisco

This new political orientation of the Council may be said to have started with the sending of a delegation to the United Nations Conference on International Organization in San Francisco. Here the Council was recognized as an American national organization by the Liaison Division of the State Department. Its representatives were invited to the functions of various delegations, and were given official and unofficial audiences by them.

Through interviews, conferences and other channels, the Council's delegation established contacts with the representatives of the press and radio. It helped sponsor a banquet given in honor of the delegations of the U.S.S.R., the Ukraine, and Byelo-Russia. Most important of all, it submitted the now historic memorandum, "The Case of the Armenian People," to the Conference, in the name of the Council and the Armenians in the United States. Through these means the Armenian National Council of America revived interest in the claims of the Armenian people, and brought the same to the attention of international diplomacy.

The Leavening Process

Although it has been the policy of the Armenian National Council, as an American organization, not to establish any organic ties with organizations abroad, and has refrained from advising them even when its counsel has been sought by them, its influence has spread far and wide among Armenian communities in the world.

The enthusiastic response which the Council's memorandum to the San Francisco Conference evoked from the people and press of Soviet Armenia, is of particular interest. Newspapers heralded the event with conspicuous headlines and special reports; authors and publicists, professional men and public speakers took passages from the memorandum as texts for articles and addresses; public men resolved to right the wrong done to their people.

Inspired by the organization and work of the Armenian National Council of America, and quickened by a sense of responsibility for the welfare of the hapless remnants of their race scattered in various parts of the world, Armenians in France, Iran, Syria and Lebanon, Egypt, Greece, Palestine, Uruguay and in other countries organized Armenian National Councils and began to make formal appeals at international peace conferences on behalf of the claims of their people.

On November 9, 1945 a group of distinguished Americans



In the deserts of Der-el-Zor. Why there are no living Armenians in the Armenian provinces in Turkey.



Armenian refugees in the Sanjakian camp in Beyrouth.



Building of the City Soviet in Leninakan.

from various parts of the country, who believe that justice should be done to the Armenians by the restoration of Wilsonian Armenia to the Armenian Soviet Republic, considering the historic friendliness of their people toward the Armenians, and the interest of the United States Government during and for some years after World War I in the establishment and maintenance of an independent Armenia, and believing also that Americans faithful to the Wilsonian tradition would support the just claims of the Armenian people, met at the Belmont Plaza Hotel in New York City and organized the American Committee for Justice to the Armenians. The Council, of course, welcomed the organization of the new Committee and assured it its full cooperation and collaboration.

The aims and purposes of the American Committee for Armenian Rights, as it subsequently came to be known, are:

To carry on an educational campaign among the broadest possible sections of the American public in cooperation with the established American Armenian organizations, the objectives being:

(a) Increasing the public knowledge of the historical facts underlying the so-called Armenian question through utilization of the press, radio, public meetings and other means;

(b) Mobilizing public support for the solution of this question, in the spirit of the United Nations Charter, by the repatriation of Armenian refugees to the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, this solution being dependent on the restoration of traditionally Armenian provinces now held under Turkish rule; the great number desiring repatriation could not be sustained economically or territorially by their homeland without such restoration of expropriated areas.

(c) Soliciting the support of the United Nations Organization to achieve the foregoing objective . . . and in other appropriate ways furthering this end.[1]

The Committee has a National Advisory Council of one hundred and fifty and an Executive Board of twenty-five, with Mr. Edwin S. Smith as chairman and the Reverend Robert W.

[1] From the Draft of the Constitution of the American Committee for Armenian Rights, Article I, Section 2.

Searle as the secretary. The National Advisory Council has among its members such distinguished Americans as Louis Adamic, Dr. Percival Bailey, Congressmen Emanuel Celler, John M. Coffee, Hugh De Lacy, and Bertrand Gearhart, Carrie Chapman Catt, Theodore Dreiser before his decease, Stephen Duggan, Walter Duranty, William Green, President Hamilton Holt of Rollins College, Professor Walter M. Horton, Rockwell Kent, Councilman Stanley M. Isaacs, Corliss Lamont, Dr. Henry Smith Lieper, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Professor Kirtley F. Mather, the Reverend Pierre van Paassen, Professor Walter Rautenstrauch, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Professor Gregory Vlastos, Professor Henry N. Wieman, Max Weber, and Dr. Mary Emma Woolley.

Soon after its organization the American Committee came to have its own director, secretarial worker and office. During the short period of its existence it has done a good job in introducing the Armenian case to the American people.

The progress the Armenian Question is making today will gain added momentum with the organization of a Church Committee for Armenian Rights, now in process of formation under the provisional chairmanship of the Reverend Robert W. Searle. "There is every reason why the churches of the United States," says Dr. Searle, "should stir themselves in behalf of the Armenian peoples." Among the reasons are, "the bond of Christian brotherhood, which surely . . . carry with it obligation; . . . the historic concern of the people of the churches as so eloquently expressed in the organization of relief to the Armenian people through the Near East Relief and through the work of the American missionaries; . . . the fact that the geographic lines of restored Armenia were drawn by Woodrow Wilson prior to the organization of the Soviet Government, so that by no circumstance would any accusation of conspiracy be justified; . . . the plight of nearly a million and a half Armenians still dispersed across the world, as a result of the frightful Turkish atrocities," hundreds of thousands of whom



Monastery and church museum on Sevan Island in Lake Sevan, built in the ninth century.



"A Village Spring," by Setrag Arakelian.

"are anxious to return to an Armenian homeland." With the coming into existence of the United Nations, continues Dr. Searle, "the first clear cut opportunity is presented for the humanitarian interests of the world to intercede in their behalf;" and an undeniable responsibility rests on the part of Christians as such. The church committee will be composed of outstanding leaders in the various denominations, and will have a secretary "who will go out across the country recalling to the church bodies their sense of obligation in the past and arousing them to their new responsibility today. Some national contacts might well be made through denominational headquarters and efforts and through the various city, county and state Councils of Churches which exist throughout the country."[2]

Memorandums, Memorials, Appeals

Since the United Nations Conference on International Organization in San Francisco, the Council has memorialized all the international peace conferences — Potsdam, Moscow, London, Paris, New York; as well as the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches in session in Geneva, Switzerland, February 1946, and the Church Conference on International Relations in Cambridge, England, August 1946.

Appeals have also been made to these conferences by the Prelacy of the Armenian Church in North America, the Diocese of the Armenian Church in California, the Armenian Evangelical Union of America, the Armenian Missionary Association of America, the Conferences of Armenian Compatriotic Societies in America, and by many local Armenian and American bodies in the United States and Canada. The local bodies and national organizations have also sent appeals and memorandums to the President of the United States and the chiefs of state of the other major powers, the United States Department of State, United States Senators and Congressmen, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the House Foreign Affairs

[2] From letter addressed to Charles A. Vertanes by Robert W. Searle, March 20, 1946. Original in the files of the Armenian National Council of America.

Committee, the United States delegations at the various international peace conferences, the delegations of the other members of the United Nations, and the chief of state and other officials of the Armenian Soviet Republic. The American Committee for Armenian Rights has addressed its appeals in support of the claims of the Armenian people, mainly to American official personalities and bodies. The appeals and memorandums by the local bodies, frequently, and by the national organizations, in some instances, have issued from resolutions passed at mass meetings staged for the purpose.

Local Chapters Awakening

Beginning with February 1946 the local chapters of the Council have been awakening to the opportunities in their respective communities to make known to Americans the claims of the Armenian people. They have taken upon themselves the task of initiating local chapters of the American Committee for Armenian Rights, with distinguished American local figures as members and officers.[3] They have given banquets, staged mass meetings and rallies, and secured free and paid time on the air with such personalities as speakers as the Very Reverend Kirk B. O'Farrall, the Dean of St. Paul's Episcopal Cathedral, in Detroit, Michigan; Governor John O. Pastore of Rhode Island, in Providence; Congressman Thomas J. Lane, in Lynn, Massachusetts; Governor Maurice J. Tobin and Senator David Walsh, in Worcester, Massachusetts; Major Hubert S. Turner, Supervisor John Anson Ford of Los Angeles County, President N. Muick of N.O.C.A., Mr. William Seaman, close friend of President Roosevelt, in Los Angeles, California; radio commentators William Winter and Harland Frederick, Rabbi Rudolph Coffee, Dr. Holland Roberts and Victor Armantoff, in

[3] In Los Angeles, for example, the chairman of the local American Committee for Armenian Rights is Mr. Rollin L. McNitt, the chairman of the Democratic County Central Committee of Los Angeles; in Lynn, Massachusetts the chairlady is Mrs. Mary Finn Berlyn, director of the local Bureau of Naturalization and superintendent of the Lynn evening schools; in Chicago, the chairman is Dr. Percival Bailey, the world famous brain surgeon.

San Francisco, California; and Governor William M. Tuck of Virginia, Mayor William C. Herbert of Richmond, Congressman J. Vaughn Gary, Justice of the Supreme Court of Appeals George L. Browning, in Richmond, Virginia. The Richmond chapter secured on one of the local radio stations eight periods, from ten to fifteen minutes each, both to announce its program and make known the Armenian case to the local radio audience.

In New York, at the rally in Carnegie Hall on April 28, 1946, sponsored by the Armenian National Council and the American Committee for Armenian Rights, Senator Charles W. Tobey, Congressmen Emanuel Celler and Charles R. Savage, Councilman Stanley M. Isaacs, Mr. Edwin S. Smith and the Reverend Robert W. Searle were among the speakers. Congratulatory and sympathetic messages were sent by Governor Maurice J. Tobin of Massachusetts; Governor John O. Pastore and Senator Theodore Francis Green of Rhode Island; Senator Francis J. Myers and Governor Edward Martin of Pennsylvania; Senator James M. Mead of New York; Senator Sheridan Downey and Congressman B. W. Gearhart of California; and others.

Press Conferences, Press Releases, Interviews, Correspondence

Through press conferences, press releases, interviews, correspondence and other means the Council has maintained regular contacts since June 1945 with one thousand two hundred news agencies, newspapers, periodicals, editors, columnists and radio commentators. Men like Richard Eaton in Washington, D. C.; Cedric Foster in Boston, Massachusetts, over the Mutual network; Rex Miller in Los Angeles, California, over the Mutual-Don Lee network; Prescott Robinson, Lowell Thomas and Algernon D. Black in New York City, on WOR, WEAF, and WQXR[4] respectively; and Senator Charles W. Tobey over the N.B.C. network have discussed the Armenian Question

[4] Algernon Black's speech was re-broadcast from ten other stations in the United States and Canada.

as a result of these contacts. Similarly, news reports, articles, editorials and other types of contributions have appeared in many American newspapers of local and national scope as a result of the contacts of the Council, the American Committee for Armenian Rights, and their respective local chapters.[5] Major George Fielding Eliot wrote a syndicated article in response to a press release sent by the American Committee for Armenian Rights. Dr. Hewlett Johnson, the Dean of Canterbury, England, in response to the appeal of the Council, expressed willingness to write a book or pamphlet on his impressions of Armenia, especially of the Ecclesiastical Convention held in Echmiadzin, the summer of 1945, which he attended as an honored guest. Mr. A. Terzibashian is in the midst of writing for the Council a history of the Armenian Question from San Stefano to Lausanne. Periodicals such as the *National Geographic Magazine* and *Look* have promised to publish appropriate articles on Armenia.

During the past year the Council published and distributed over one hundred thousand leaflets and pamphlets, bearing more than twenty titles, some of which are listed in the selected bibliography at the end of this book.

The Council has also sought and utilized opportunities to interest prominent Americans in the Armenian Question, other than those who have openly identified themselves with the Armenian cause. It has initiated and sometimes maintained correspondence with such outstanding and influential Americans as Walter Lippman, Raymond Gramm Swing, Sumner Wells, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, James Roosevelt, Henry Wallace, Harold Ickes, and Mrs. Woodrow Wilson. Although these

[5] Among others, in *PM*, the *New York Times*, the *New York Herald-Tribune*, the *New York World-Telegram*, the *New York Post*, the *New York Sun*, the *New York Daily News*, the *Daily Worker*, the *Washington Evening Star*, the *Washington Post*, the *Chicago Sun*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Boston Post*, the *Detroit News*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *Hartford Courant* and the *Hartford Times*, the *New Haven Journal*, the *Providence Journal*, the *Fresno Bee*, the *Milford Daily News*, the *Haverhill Gazette*, the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, the *Elgin Daily Courier-News*, the *Lynn Daily Item*, and the *Lynn Telegram News*.

contacts have not always yielded conspicuous results, they have nevertheless made the individuals in question aware of the nature of the claims of the Armenian people and confronted them with the challenge of their claims.

Students, Professors, Research

Students and instructors, of Armenian and non-Armenian background, are finding in Armenia and the Armenian Question interesting and significant themes for term papers, theses, lectures and forums. Professor E. R. Pineda of the New Jersey State Teachers College, for example, is taking up the Armenian Question in his class on international relations; while a class in Wellesley College devoted its whole last term to the study of Armenians as the most interesting minority group in the United States.

The modest research division of the Council, which collects, classifies and makes accessible information on Armenian life and the Armenian people, published in newspapers, pamphlets, books and other sources, has demonstrated its usefulness by furnishing data to newspaper reporters, authors, research workers, as well as students and instructors in high schools and institutions of higher learning.

The American Committee for Cultural Relations with Soviet Armenia

The Council also strives for the cultivation of friendly relations between the United States and Soviet Armenia. To this end it started, under the provisional chairmanship of Professor H. M. Dadourian and in response to the invitation of Mrs. Maria Petrosian, the President of the Armenian Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, an American Committee for Cultural Relations with Soviet Armenia.

While the organization of this Committee was in progress, the Council sent two guest delegates[6] to the Ecclesiastical Convention in Echmiadzin, Soviet Armenia, in June 1945. It also

[6] In the person of Messrs. Patrick Selian and Bedros G. Terzian.

had a third representative at the Convention, who was an official delegate from the United States.[7] The stories which these men brought back concerning the amazing development of Soviet Armenia in the past twenty-five years, filled with enthusiasm the hearts of Armenians in the United States, who had been eyewitnesses of the wretchedness of Armenia prior to 1920 and had suffered from it. Their report contributed materially to the development of the aims of the American Committee for Cultural Relations with Soviet Armenia.

The Committee was officially organized at a meeting in the Belmont Plaza Hotel on November 9, 1945, with about one hundred distinguished Armenian American scientists, artists and intellectual leaders as members of its National Advisory Council. The Committee's aims, as defined by its Constitution and By-laws, are:

To cultivate cultural relations with Soviet Armenia through the Armenian Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries; to acquaint America with the cultural achievements of Soviet Armenia, and acquaint Soviet Armenia with American culture, through the exchange of students, professors, lecturers, artists, scientists, books, periodicals, publications, scientific instruments and appliances; and through lectures, concerts, and exhibits.[8]

A beginning toward the realization of the aims of the Committee has already been made. Invitations have been extended by the Union of Soviet Armenian Writers, through the medium of the chairman of the Committee, to William Saroyan, Reuben Mamoulian, Mihrtad Tiryakian, G. Sidal, Vahe Haig, Leon Z. Surmelian, and Michael Arlen to take part in the Second Congress of Soviet Armenian Writers in Erevan in September of this year.

The Committee is now collecting books, periodicals, scientific instruments and other material of cultural value, for the major educational, scientific and cultural institutions of Soviet

[7] In the person of Captain James Chankalian.

[8] Constitution and By-laws, American Committee for Cultural Relations with Soviet Armenia, a Committee of the Armenian National Council of America, Article II.

Armenia. To this end sub-committees are being organized in pure sciences, social sciences and philosophy, music, fine arts, engineering, education, literature and medicine.

The Committee is further collecting first-hand data and relevant objects on the contributions made by Armenian scientists, artists, authors, writers, intellectuals, leaders, physicians, clergymen and men and women in other professions to the war against fascism, and their moral and material support in World War II to Soviet Armenia, the U.S.S.R., the Red Army and the other armies of the United Nations. These are to be sent to Erevan, where an exhibition has already been organized featuring the contributions of Armenians abroad[9] in World War II.

The Committee is now planning a series of exhibitions on life and achievements in Soviet Armenia, which may be shown in various cities in the United States and possibly Canada, in cooperation with the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. The material for the exhibition has already been received from Armenia, and Mr. Sarkis Katchadourian, the famous Armenian painter now in America, is organizing it.

At the Women's International Exposition

The Committee will also cooperate this year in organizing the Armenian section of the Women's International Exposition in New York, which last year was sponsored by the Armenian National Council of America. That affair, which was held in the Madison Square Garden, November 13-18, 1945, proved to be an effective channel through which to exhibit to the American public the culture of Armenia, past and present, as well as set forth graphically the claims of the Armenian people.

Union of Armenian Compatriotic Societies

As a result of the reports of the representatives of the Council who returned from Soviet Armenia[10] an effort was made to organize the Armenian compatriotic societies in America into

[9] Outside of the Soviet Union.

[10] Supra, pp. 124-125.



Laura Simonian, worker in the Erevan cannery, carrying roses. The Erevan cannery prepares tons of delicious jam from rose petals.



Drying apricots at Stalin State Farm, Armenia.

one inclusive union, to the end that the efforts of these societies to establish and maintain reconstruction projects in Soviet Armenia may be coordinated, and where possible united projects may be initiated and maintained. The Union was effected on March 24, 1946 at a meeting in Hotel Empire in New York called by the Armenian National Council for the purpose.[11]

Committee to Aid the Repatriation of Armenians

Another important project of the Council is the organization of the Committee to Aid the Repatriation of Armenians, in response to the action of the Armenian Government to allow Armenians living abroad to return to their homeland, and establishing to that end, under the Soviet People's Commissariat, a Committee for the Reception and Settlement of Armenian Immigrants Abroad. The latter Committee was to establish ties with appropriate Armenian organizations abroad to facilitate the work of repatriation. The Council and the Armenian General Benevolent Union both received letters from this Committee, suggesting how they might be helpful in the repatriation of fellow Armenians who may wish to return to the homeland.[12]

According to the action of the Committee, returning Armenians would be allowed to build their individual homes, the Government offering to pay fifty per cent of the cost from funds set aside for the purpose. They would also be free from customs duty on the effects they would take along with them.

The present repatriation movement among the Armenians started with the earnest application to the Armenian Government of the delegates from France, the Balkans, and the Middle East at the Ecclesiastical Congress in Echmiadzin, June 16 to 25, 1945, who were unequivocally urged by their constituencies not to return without securing the definite promise of the Armenian Government to take practical steps for the repatria-

[11] Supra, p. 112.

[12] The action of the Armenian Government was taken on November 21, 1945. The letter to the Armenian National Council of America by the Committee for the Reception and Settlement of Armenian Immigrants Abroad is dated Erevan, December 25, 1945.

tion of refugee Armenians in the world. The people of Soviet Armenia responded with great enthusiasm to this longing of their fellow-Armenians abroad, and the Government expressed willingness to extend to them all the means and facilities necessary for their repatriation.[13]

It appears from reports in some Armenian papers abroad that repatriation had started with some families before May 1946. According to a telegram received in May 1946 from the Erevan Committee for the Reception and Settlement of Armenian Immigrants Abroad, it was to start in June 1946, with twenty thousand from Syria and Lebanon, thirty thousand from Iran, and two thousand from Greece.

Already eight hundred thousand Armenians in the Near East, the Balkans, France, South America, and other parts of the world have registered to return to the homeland.

Where will these people go to?

[13] Supra, p. 110; Press Release, Armenian National Council of America, "The Delegation Just Returned from Armenia Reports," October 17, 1945.



"The Erevan Planetarium," by Meher Apeghian.



Excursion of Pioneers at Geghart—symbol of young Armenia going forward amidst the ruins of the past.

Chapter Eight

The Justice That Is Yet To Be

Area and Population of Soviet Armenia

Soviet Armenia today has a territory of only eleven thousand five hundred eighty square miles, an appreciable part of which is occupied by mountains and lakes. The Government has made heroic efforts to reclaim every inch of arable land for cultivation, and has utilized for irrigation projects all the waters which flow during the summer months. These efforts made possible the increase of the population, once dying from massacre, starvation and disease, by sixty per cent in twenty-five years, which is three times greater than the population increase of any European country for the same period. In 1939 the population of Soviet Armenia consisted of one million two hundred eighty-one thousand five hundred ninety-nine persons. Today it is believed to be almost one and a half million.

Between 1920 and 1940 the Soviet Armenian Government was able to make room for forty thousand Armenian refugees from abroad. If it is to do better now, the boundaries of Soviet Armenia should be expanded to take in at least the Armenian provinces of Kars, Ardahan, Erzeroum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis.

Area and Population of Historic Armenia

Kars and Ardahan cover an area, roughly, of ten thousand square miles. The rest of historic Armenia in Turkey covers an area variously estimated at from ninety-six thousand to one hundred and nine thousand square miles. These territories have been recognized as having been inhabited by and belonging to the Armenians by Article Sixty-one of the Treaty of Berlin, 1878; the Memorandum of the Ambassadors of the Great Powers

in Constantinople, 1895; the Ambassadorial Conference in London, 1913; the terms of the Reform Measure agreed between Turkey and Germany, of the one part, and Russia, representing the Entente and the Armenians, of the other part, February 8, 1914; and Article Fourteen of the terms of the Armistice granted to Turkey by the Allies, November 1, 1918.

The total area recognized as belonging to the Armenians is one hundred thirty-three thousand two hundred eighty-nine square miles. The difference between this and the present territory of Soviet Armenia, eleven thousand five hundred eighty square miles, is practically the difference of Armenian territory now in Turkey.

At the end of the First World War, it was estimated that out of a population of four or four-and-a-half million within the boundaries of Armenia then in process of formation, over three million would be Armenian. The comparative figures would more than hold for today, if Kars and Ardahan, Erzeroum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, left to Armenia by the Wilsonian award, were returned to Soviet Armenia, and Turkish Armenian refugees in the world, including Turkish Armenians in various parts of the Soviet Union, a total of more than two million individuals, were allowed to return to their homes and possessions.

The Turkish massacres and deportations did not achieve the end to which they were directed, namely, the settlement of the Armenian Question by the complete destruction of the Armenian people. Historic Armenia was rid of Armenians, but it was not Turkified.

Both the Ittihad and Kemalist Turks attempted to populate the Armenian provinces under them with Turks, but hardly anyone would settle there. Turks from Greece and Salonica refused to settle east of the Euphrates. So did Turks from Azerbaijan refuse to settle south of the River Araxes. Then, for fear that the Turkish Armenian provinces would become predominantly Kurdish in population, the Turkish Government looked for excuses to move them from their homes.



Students at work, Agricultural Institute, Erevan.



A new hotel.

In the spring of 1945 the Turkish Government passed a law to help peasants settle on land which had been out of cultivation. Its main purpose seems to have been to increase the number of Turks in the Armenian provinces. The Turkish press gave the project ample publicity. The Turkish peasantry, however, refused to get excited over the proposition, knowing full well how precarious is the status of the provinces in question.

Turkish Armenia is today a sparsely populated and desolate region. Were it returned to Armenians, the amazing story of Soviet Armenia of the past twenty-five years would be repeated, and the world and civilization would gain from the transfer.

Pan-Turanian Aspiration and Policies

Turkey has not been dismayed by her failures to Turkify the Armenian provinces within her borders. Beginning with the second half of the nineteenth century, she has nurtured the hope of expansion to the east and the establishment of a Pan-Turkic or Pan-Turanian Empire. The realization of that hope would settle the Armenian Question once and for all time. The remnants of the Armenian people would then be done away with, and their land would be occupied by Turkish settlers, without apprehensions of a day of reckoning.

The Pan-Turanian aspirations of the Turks in the past have supplied the ideological undercurrent which fanned into flame the savage instincts of the Turkish people against the Armenians.

The policies and practices of modern Turkey in World War II clearly indicate that she continues to nurture the hope of expansion to the east. A Pan-Turanian movement active in Turkey in this war enjoyed the protection and patronage of the Government. Turks would have repeated their outrages against the Armenians, if they had the stage clear before them. They were ready to give them the final blow if the Nazis had won the battle of Stalingrad. Articles and editorials appeared in the Turkish press preparing the groundwork for the assault. Turkish forces assembled and engaged in maneuvers on the Soviet Armenian

frontier. Some minor skirmishes took place. The Government passed a discriminatory tax on wealth, *Varlik Vergisi,* designed especially to liquidate the Armenians economically, and to destroy them physically subsequently. By the time Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt intervened at their conference in Egypt with the Turkish representatives, the damage had been done to the Armenians in Turkey.

No Armenia Without Russia

In the past Russian aid to Armenia has yielded the most practicable results. How different Armenian history would have been during the past sixty-eight years if the Treaty of Berlin had not disrupted the substantial aid the Russians started to give to the Armenians through the Treaty of San Stefano. Again, the Russo-Turkish Accord of February 8, 1914, despite its imperfections, was at the point of opening a new era for the Armenian provinces in Turkey, when the outbreak of the first World War diverted Armenian history once more in channels of destruction.

Stephen Bonsal, one of the special aides of Colonel Edward M. House at the Peace Conference following the First World War, had inside information of the Conference which enabled him to arrive at judgments about the Armenian and other questions, of which Armenians and other minority peoples involved learned at the expense of bitter experience. "Among the things that the deplorable treatment of the Armenians reveals," says Mr. Bonsal in his diary, under date of March 3, 1919, "is the skill of the Powers with whom we [Americans] are associated in 'passing the buck.' Both England and France before we entered the war officially announced that they would reestablish the Armenian people in their ancient rights and within their traditional boundaries, but as the extreme difficulty of their task becomes more and more apparent, they have earmarked the ugly job for Simple Simon, that is, for Uncle Sam. As a matter of fact, the Armenian problem is a hard nut to crack and the anxiety expressed by their delegates here, and by Lord Bryce,



Calisthenics at the Dynamo stadium.



Children's nursery on the Lenin Collective Farm, Hoktemberian region.



The Arzni health resort in Armenia, famous for its mineral springs.

their sponsor, is fully justified. The survivors of the massacres that have raged almost without interruption for four decades are *hemmed in by enemies and the few localities that they still defend are difficult of access. Should a rescuing force be sent for their protection, the losses would be heavy, and it is apparent that none of the Powers who promised protection and rehabilitation for these unfortunate people have stomach for any further expense or casualties.*" [1]

These facts were recognized by many Senators in Congress, and constituted the basis of their argument in opposing an American mandate over Armenia.[2]

Article Twenty-two of the Treaty of Peace with Germany held that "certain communities belonging to the Turkish Empire had reached a point where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone." The political situation in which Armenia was at this time placed her with "those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war," as Article Twenty-two put it, "have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world." To these colonies and territories was to "be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this covenant." The best method of giving practical effect to this principle was "that the tutelage of such peoples should be intrusted to advanced nations *who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are will-*

[1] Stephen Bonsal, *Suitors and Suppliants.* New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1946, p. 192.

[2] See, for example, *Congress. Rec.*, 66th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 6989-7014, 7053-7075, 7119, 8060-8193, 8193-8205, 8207, 8216, 8271, 8274-8296; 2nd sess., pp. 62-63, 261-2, 533, 3793-5, 3803-4, 3892-98, 3946-47.

ing to accept it." In the case of Armenia, history has shown that Russia was the only appropriate power on all counts—resources, experience and geographical position—to have a mandatory over Armenia.

Armenians today know full well, without misgivings, that their safety and the welfare of their homeland are inextricably bound up with the safety and welfare of the Soviet Union.

Others, directly or indirectly, have felt that there is no salvation for the Armenian people apart from Russia, and, therefore, the Soviet Union. Lord Robert Cecil, the British Foreign Secretary, said in Parliament on May 16, 1916, that "any change for the Armenians will be a blessing, even the outright annexation by Russia, for a people subjected to unspeakable atrocities, the entire one million and eight hundred thousand population has been reduced by one million two hundred thousand." Similarly, Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby, in a letter to the Italian Ambassador Avezzana, August 10, 1920, stated that "while giving recognition to the independence of Armenia, the Government of the United States has taken the position that the final determination of its boundaries must not be made without Russia's cooperation and agreement. Not only is Russia concerned because a considerable part of the territory of the new State of Armenia, when it shall be defined, formerly belonged to the Russian Empire; equally important is the fact that Armenia must have the good will and protective friendship of Russia if it is to remain independent and free." [3]

American-Soviet Cooperation

Neither the United States nor the Soviet Union could do much for the liberation and independence of a substantial portion of Armenia in the years that followed the First World War, due to domestic policies and preoccupations which qualified their participation in international questions.

The war just ended has made both countries pivotal in cur-

[3] *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1920,* United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1936, Vol. III, p. 465.

rent international political relations. They are now both in a position to redeem the unfulfilled pledges of the Allies made during and for some years after World War I. American and Soviet idealism have a common meeting ground in Armenia.

Turkish Strategy

The one nation which would disrupt American-Soviet friendship and defeat the rightful claims of the Armenian people, is Turkey. It would be in the interests of the United States to take notice of the expensive propaganda the Turks have been pouring into our land for many years.

Turks were able to pursue their policy of the destruction of the Armenian people, and to escape the vengeance of the civilized world against them, incited by their unspeakable crimes, because of the conflicting interests of the imperialist nations in their land and possessions. Today they would disrupt British-American and Soviet relations, if they could. How else can one interpret their "great hope" that the United States and Great Britain will protect their "sovereignty" against the "exaggerated" demands of the Soviet Union? [4]

They still cling with might and main to their outworn policy of divide and conquer. They rejoice every time the international pot starts boiling when the Big Three fail to come to an understanding, as at London in September 1945. They are chagrined and shed hot tears every time the climate of public opinion is cleared of mistrust and misunderstanding, and honest effort is put forth to put the peace of the world on secure foundations, as at Moscow, in December 1945.

"They That Take the Sword Shall Perish With the Sword"

The Turks claim that the Armenian population in Kars and Ardahan and the other Armenian provinces in Turkey is now negligible—"a matter of a few individuals, not even a few dozen." [5]

[4] See Sam Pope-Brewer's cable from Ankara in the *New York Times,* August 2, 1945.

[5] *Ibid.*



Workers' houses on a street in the Mikoyan State Farm, which is built on formerly arid land.



Lenin Square in Leninakan, the textile center of Soviet Armenia.

Armenians and Americans familiar with Turkish-Armenian relations are surprised to hear that there are even a few individual Armenians left in these provinces, so thoroughly did the Turks carry out their plot for the extermination of the Armenian people within their bounds. The fact that Turkey has divested these provinces of all living Armenians through systematic massacres and deportations is no valid reason why she should keep them. It is rather good reason why she should return them to their rightful owners. A people living on lands for thousands of years do not lose title to them simply because some twenty-five years ago they were destroyed and forcibly ejected from them. If force is a legitimate instrument for dispossessing a people from their ancient homeland, its use may be no less legitimate to reclaim what has been theirs for so long.

A Minimum of Justice the Price of Peace and Security

The loss of Kars and Ardahan, say the Turks, ignoring altogether the disposition of the remaining eight-tenths of historic Armenia, would seriously weaken the possibilities of defense of their eastern frontier. But what about the western frontier of Soviet Armenia, to whom belong the territories in question? Turkey need not worry about the weakening of her eastern frontier until all Armenian territories seized by her are returned to the Armenians. It is already vulnerable by virtue of her remaining in possession of them. No nation can claim security, geographical or otherwise, which is not willing to extend a minimum of justice to her neighbors. Ceding all Armenian territories to Soviet Armenia constitutes minimum justice. The Turks will never be able to bring back to life the millions of Armenians, most of them peasant folk, whom they slew in cold blood.

Illegitimate Transactions

The Turks also argue that the Russians voluntarily ceded to them in 1921 the region of Kars and Ardahan. The Russians did not quite do that. The Germans left Kars and Ardahan to Tur-

key by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which they imposed on a Russia torn by internal revolution. The treaty, however, was later renounced by the victorious Allies, and declared null and void by Russia herself.[6] Two years later, by force of arms, the Turks seized this region from the Armenian Republic, and at a later date confronted the Soviet Union with a *fait accompli.*

But for the sake of argument, let us assume that the Russians, or some other nation, ceded the region of Kars and Ardahan to Turkey. Would that really give her any claim to it? Would John have a claim to my house if Jim, a total stranger to me, who does not hold title to my house, sold it to him?

A Strange Ado About Justice

Lately the Turks have been making a strange ado about the justice that the world owes them, to enable them to keep their ill-gotten gains from the Armenians. It is clear that they do not yet grasp the meaning of the word justice as understood by democratic peoples. If they did so, they would blush every time the word was used in their presence, let alone have it on their own lips.

But Turkey is not to be expected to understand what democracies mean by that sacred but much abused word. She gave not a drop of blood to safeguard its exalted meaning for the world and posterity in the recent major struggle which razed entire nations. On the contrary, she put the full weight of her resources, material and moral, on the side of the Nazi vandals, the scourges of modern civilization and the wreckers of human values of all time. Yet she has the audacity to try to harness the exalted meaning of that sacred word to ends that betray the old barbaric notion of Turkish justice.

And Now the Axe Is Laid to the Root of Trees

If justice to Turkey is to be defined as she has defined it in practice throughout her history down to the war just ended, any

[6] *Supra.*, p. 12.

powerful neighbor would have the right to do to her and her people what she has done to Armenia and the Armenians and the other countries and peoples that came under her rule during the past six centuries. But it is not because of any such threats that she is crying for justice before the world, and she knows it. She wants to keep her ill-gotten gains, and maintain her illegitimate power to realize at some opportune moment her dream of expansion to the east and the complete destruction of the one people that stands on the way.

Turkey would do well, however, to take to heart the words of Max Weber, member of the American Committee for Armenian Rights, in a recent letter to the writer: "The mere fact that the destiny of the Armenian people is inextricably bound up with that of the Soviet Union, should be a warning to the Turkish fascists, that in seeking to destroy the Armenian people they themselves may be destroyed."

At long last divine justice is overtaking the Turk who, without any regard for world opinion and the judgments of history, for centuries has been flouting every law of humanity, destroying, killing, abusing, exploiting, misappropriating, threatening, blackmailing and spreading terror. And now the axe is laid to the root of trees, and "every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire!"

The peace now being forged on the anvil of the international peace conferences of the world would not survive the echo of the voices raised on its behalf were Turkey to be appeased, strengthened and pampered once more for the "blood, sweat and tears" she has caused to millions upon millions of innocent men, women and children during her history of the past six centuries, while Armenia and the Armenian people were penalized for their loyalty to the cause of freedom, democracy and civilization. To do so would mean that the world is far from having learned her lesson. It will as certainly lead to the rise of new dictators, as it did once to the rise of Hitler to power, with his *Mein Kampf* and all that that meant to the world.

It is not within the genius of American democracy to strengthen fascism in any part of the world. Assistance in any form extended to the Turks today would weaken the foundations of democracy at home. One cannot be a party to injustice and violence for long without being infected with the disease himself. As an organized state Turkey has proven, down to our very day, her utter incapacity to wield power with responsibility in a civilized world. She was the first fascist state, organized as such, at the end of the First World War; remains fascist in outlook and form today; and gives only lip service to the principles of the United Nations.

In 1924 the distinguished Harvard Professor Albert Bushwell Hart in an article in the *Forum* listed the reasons why the United States Senate should refuse to ratify the Lausanne Treaty, among them: that Turkey was not a sound and responsible state; that she was not a "Republc" founded on open and full elections; that the United States could not honorably "enter into relations of special friendship and accord with a nation of murderers;" that there was "no such thing as law or courts or justice in Turkey, as we understand these terms in America;" that "the ruling motives" for the European Lausanne Treaty were such that the United States could never share, such as the strengthening of Turkey by Britain as a barrier against the Soviet Union, French cupidity to gain the favor of the Turks against England and Italy, etc.; and that Turkey's promises for reform were without foundation, that they had been making promises of reform in treaties since 1860, without keeping any of them. The Turkey of today is no different than the Turkey of 1924 and before.

Here is the latest on Turkey as this book goes to the press. The *New York Times* of July 10, 1946 carried a wireless dispatch, dated Istanbul, July 9, according to which the current election campaign in that land is being accompanied by in-

creasing violence—reports from all over the country indicate "the beginning of organized terrorism and abuses of power by the government party and authorities;" "armed gangsters hired by the People's party are systematically terrorizing citizens, especially in the Aegean Province of Smyrna, where the Democratic party constitutes a majority of the electorate;" and "everywhere the authorities are suppressing citizens' rights and liberties in an effort to assure victory for the People's party."

The Challenge to America

So far as the United States is concerned, known since its founding for its hospitality to the oppressed and its championship of the cause of freedom and democracy at home and abroad, she will strengthen her new place of world leadership if she will approach the Armenian Question in the spirit of the traditions of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Wilson, and the Roosevelts, and bring to it her full and friendly support.

If she is to do that, Americans everywhere who are informed on the subject should make full use of the means at their disposal to make known to their fellow-Americans and the world at large their convictions in the matter, and work with groups which are striving to settle the Armenian Question in all its phases in a manner that will enable more than a million souls, refugees for over thirty years, to be repatriated in their homeland under conditions which enhance and safeguard the free and fuller life.

"Americans have been well-wishers of the Armenians for many years," said Edwin Smith, the Chairman of the American Committee for Armenian Rights, recently. "The greatest contribution we can now make is to understand and support the natural, just demands of Armenians all over the world for an Armenian homeland. To make such a homeland possible I believe the borders of Soviet Armenia should be extended to include the predominantly Armenian territories now in Turkey. Such a solution of the Armenian problem should be earnestly

urged by Americans for accomplishment by the United Nations Organization." [7]

The Response to the Challenge

Well-known and influential Americans have already started to respond to the challenge by joining the American Committee for Armenian Rights, by studying and speaking on the Armenian Question, and by using the means at their disposal to bring it to the attention of official bodies of the United States and the United Nations.

It was relatively easy to champion the Armenian cause during and the first few years following the first World War. But good and courageous Americans will not be balked by the difficulties involved in the Armenian Question today, no matter what their political background and philosophy. Here are excerpts from the speeches and messages of great and distinguished Americans at the rally in Carnegie Hall on April 28, 1946, which serve to illustrate how well Americans throughout the country, representing all shades of American public opinion and the various schools of thought on American foreign policy, understand the nature and implications of that Question, and how ready and determined they are to commit themselves to its just and effective settlement.

Said Senator Charles W. Tobey at the Carnegie Hall meeting:

> No people on earth have had to endure more suffering, privation, and slavery than the Armenian peoples have for centuries. How they have preserved their Christian religion, their language, and their hope for ultimate freedom, is a marvel to us all.
>
> Today, while all the world is supposed to be guaranteed freedom from oppression, from fear, and other evils the Christian Armenian is a wanderer over the world. . . . The United States has an obligation in the Armenian question. Our own political past is a proof of that. *We* once had to throw off a yoke, and so Armenia's trouble is one in which we should have a realistic understanding.

[7] Armenian National Council of America, Press Release No. 46, December 20, 1945, announcing the formal launching of the American Committee.

It is my hope that a portion of Turkish Armenia, that part designated by President Wilson under the Sevres Treaty, be ceded to the Republic of Armenia; that thousands of Armenian refugees, victims of Turkish deportation and oppression be repatriated; and that Turkey be made to pay for property, national and individual, appropriated during this last war. . . . It is my earnest hope that the United States may take up the cause of Armenia within the United Nations Organization, and lend our great influence to a worthwhile objective, "Justice to the people of Armenia."[8]

Congressman Emanuel Celler at the same rally:

With its backdrop of tyranny and violence, the rapine of Armenia had been a sordid spectacle of territorial booty, implemented callously and ruthlessly, culminating in the despised Lausanne Treaty. . . .

The Armenian Provinces of Turkey must be united with the free and independent republic of Soviet Armenia, and opportunities granted Armenians abroad to return to their own homes and pastures, their cities and villages and there live out their lives.

Common humanity demands this, but over and beyond that, we must not forget our debt of gratitude for their devotion to democracy and the cause of the United Nations during World War II. They fought again with distinction within the armies of the United States and the United Nations. . . . The Armenians made their sacrifice of "blood, sweat and tears" for the Allied victory.

Armenia has the inalienable right of a small nation to complain — to seek freedom and justice. This should be understandable to every American. We Americans fought this war with a clear and well-defined purpose and we must not permit our principles to be mocked a second time.[9]

Congressman Charles R. Savage, at the same rally:

The Armenians are a fearless people. They have been defeated but have never been conquered, and furthermore, never will be conquered. Armenians everywhere are still fighting for the restoration of their mother country. . . . I cannot help but marvel at the modernization, progress and educational advancement made by

[8] Armenian National Council of America, Press Release No. 112, pp. 1-4.
[9] American Committee for Armenian Rights, Text of speech of Congressman Celler, pp. 3, 6.

Armenia in the short term of peace between the two great wars. Neither can I avoid trying to visualize how much greater advancement Armenia would have made had the treaty of Sevres been fulfilled. What a glorious nation Armenia would be today. What a glory it would be for her people, scattered throughout the world, for those who wish to do so, to return to their mother country.

Great injustices have been perpetrated upon Armenia already for too many years. If peace is to reign throughout the world, consideration should be given to Armenia's case now. . . .The U.N. should reverse the "do nothing about it" policy of the old League of Nations and see that the treaty of Sevres is fulfilled, and that the recommendations of President Wilson are carried out, just as the United States Senate has reversed its former position of isolation and is now carrying out the general principles that were advocated by President Wilson for world cooperation.[10]

Similarly, Councilman Stanley M. Isaacs:

Now that the war is over, now that the United Nations has been organized, the Armenians in exile are turning their eyes homeward. . . . Some want to stay where they are but the vast majority naturally want to return to their homeland and passionately desire that this homeland be restored to its natural boundaries. This involves, quite obviously, a transfer of territory from Turkey to the Armenian Soviet Republic.

The problem we have to face is whether to give this proper support or to ignore or oppose it. I, for one, believe that it should receive the full support of our State Department and our nation. We owe nothing to Turkey except bare justice. She was our enemy in the first World War; in the last World War she did not actually fight on Hitler's side but could hardly have been called neutral.

Turkey . . . should not be allowed to retain the territory stolen from the Armenians, from which the remnants were driven by force after the Armenian population had been halved by the most murderous persecution. Now is the time to establish those boundaries which President Wilson visualized as constituting a just line of division between Turkey and Armenia. . . .

I hope to see the plea of the Armenians granted. I want to see

[10] American Committee for Armenian Rights, Text of speech of Congressman Charles R. Savage, pp. 1, 3, 4.

the exiles return to their own country. I want to see them have in their homeland full opportunity to develop their own national interests in their own way. If we are to have a decent world, a safe world, a just world, their wish will be granted.[11]

Similarly, Doctor Robert W. Searle:

The League of Nations asked the United States to take the mandate for Armenia. The United States refused to accept this responsibility and the restoration of Armenia went by default. More than seventy per cent of the territory which had been recognized as legitimately belonging to Armenia was left in the possession of Turkey and a million and a half Armenians were scattered as exiles around the world. Two small provinces were all that was left to Armenia and, deserted by the Western world, these found haven in the Union of Soviet Republics, wherein, according to creditable Christian observers, they have found a freedom of life which they had not known for centuries.

Now the voice of these long forgotten exiles is being raised in a plea to the United Nations Organization for the restoration of this rightful territory so that they may have adequate space to which to return. *Surely the fact that this can mean the territorial extension of one of the Soviet Republics, while it may seem a complication, cannot rightly be held to be a barrier to the justice for which the Armenians are pleading.*[12]

And surely where the issue of justice is so clearly drawn the voice of the Christian community around the world will be raised in support of the Armenian people who, one of the first people to accept Christianity, have through all the centuries remained faithful to it in spite of continued persecution because of their faith.[13]

Governor Maurice J. Tobin of Massachusetts, in a special message sent for the rally in Carnegie Hall:

May I take this opportunity to commend the Armenian National Council of America for its zealous efforts to secure justice for a people who have been subjected to bitter persecution but who have

[11] American Committee for Armenian Rights. Text of speech of Councilman Stanley M. Isaacs, pp. 3-4.

[12] Italics mine.

[13] Armenian National Council of America. Press Release No. 123, Extracts of speech delivered by the Reverend Robert W. Searle at Carnegie Hall, April 28, 1946.

never abandoned their ideals or forsaken their national principles. For too many years the Armenian people have been denied their God-given rights. For too many years they have been deprived of their traditional freedom and independence. For too many years their legitimate demands have been ignored by other nations.

The recent world war was fought for the preservation of the rights of all nations. There can be no justification, therefore, of the actions of any Power that would refuse to honor the Armenian people's petition for the restoration of their national autonomy. The people of Massachusetts have the deepest sympathy for the present plight of Armenia, and I know that I am bespeaking the sentiments of all of my fellow citizens in this Commonwealth when I express the fervent hope that justice and equity may finally reward the efforts of Armenia to regain her rightful place among the nations of the world.[14]

Governor John O. Pastore of Rhode Island, in message wired for the Carnegie Hall rally:

As Governor of the State of Rhode Island I am indeed happy and privileged to join in the appeal to the Security Council of the United Nations on behalf of the just and long standing claims of the Armenian people. Within our state we have many sons of Armenian ancestry who served in the armed forces of our country, some of whom paid the supreme sacrifice for the ultimate establishment of the four freedoms. Armenia like all small nations should have its rightful place among the freedom loving peoples of the world.[15]

Senator Theodore Francis Green from Rhode Island:

I have long been in sympathy with the Armenians and their unhappy history. The Armenians have played the unhappy role of pawns in the great international chess game. Where they have sown, others have reaped. When they have made great sacrifices in the cause of freedom and democracy, they have been fighting for lost causes. Let us hope that the new peace treaties will recognize

[14] In a letter dated April 25, 1946. In the files of the Armenian National Council of America.

[15] Telegram dated April 27, 1946. In the files of the Armenian National Council of America.

Armenia's just claims so that these sacrifices may not have been made in vain![16]

Congressman Bertrand Gearhart from California:

I find myself in complete accord and sympathy with the objectives which the friends of Armenia are endeavoring to achieve. As a great question is never settled until it is settled right, the Armenian Question will persist in this world until all of its traditional territories are reunited in a single great republic. So earnest am I in my desire to assist in the attainment of that end so devoutly to be desired I will personally appeal to the President of the United States to include this solution of this great problem as one of the cardinal principles of American international policy.[17]

Congressman Gearheart kept his word and appealed to the President, asking him to take steps for the restoration of the Armenian territories in Turkey. If it be known, said Congressman Gearheart in his letter addressed to the President, that American foreign policy is in favor of Armenians having the government of their choice, and uniting under their own flag, the realization of the hopes and aspiration of this people will not be far off. Unless the Armenian provinces of Erzeroum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis are taken from Turkey and given to Soviet Armenia, he added, there will be no lasting peace in the world.

Your Share in the Rebirth of Armenia

The Armenian National Council of America, and all Armenians and their friends in the world, hope that you, too, will support their long standing claims, and implement, through all means at your disposal, the realization of their millenial hopes and aspirations for freedom, security and significant living.

And the rebirth of Armenia will be fully realized!



[16] In letter dated April 26, 1946. In the files of the Armenian National Council of America.

[17] In telegram dated April 27, 1946. In the files of the Armenian National Council of America.



A street in old Erevan.



Dwelling-house in Leninakan.

Appendix A

The Frontier Between Armenia and Turkey as Decided by President Wilson

November 22, 1920

To the President of the Supreme Council
of the Allied Powers

Mr. President:

By action of the Supreme Council taken on April 26th of this year an invitation was tendered to me to arbitrate the question of the boundaries between Turkey and the new state of Armenia. Representatives of the powers signatory on August 10th of this year to the Treaty of Sevres have acquiesced in conferring this honor upon me and have signified their intention of accepting the frontiers which are to be determined by my decision, as well as any stipulation which I may prescribe as to access for Armenia to the sea and any arrangement for the demilitarization of Turkish territory lying along the frontier thus established. According to the terms of the arbitral reference set forth in part III, Section 6, Article 89, of the Treaty of Sevres, the scope of the arbitral competence assigned to me is clearly limited to the determination of the frontiers of Turkey and Armenia in the Vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis. With full consciousness of the responsibility placed upon me by your request, I have approached this difficult task with eagerness to serve the best interests of the Armenian people as well as the remaining inhabitants, of whatever race or religious belief they may be, in this stricken country, attempting to exercise also the strictest possible justice toward the popula-

tions, whether Turkish, Kurdish, Greek or Armenian, living in the adjacent areas.

In approaching this problem it was obvious that the existing ethnic and religious distribution of the population in the four vilayets could not, as in other parts of the world, be regarded as the guiding element of the decision. The ethnic consideration, in the case of a population originally so complexly intermingled, is further beclouded by the terrible results of the massacres and deportations of the Armenians and Greeks, and by the dreadful losses also suffered by the moslem inhabitants through refugee movements and the scourge of typhus and other diseases. The limitation of the arbitral assignment to the four vilayets named in Article 89 of the Treaty made it seem a duty and an obligation that as large an area within these vilayets be granted to the Armenian state as could be done, while meeting the basic requirements of an adequate natural frontier and of geographic and economic unity for the new state. It was essential to keep in mind that the new state of Armenia, including as it will a large section of the former Armenian provinces of Transcaucasian Russia, will at the outset have a population about equally divided between Moslem and Christian elements and of diverse racial and tribal relationship. The citizenship of the Armenian Republic will, by the tests of language and religion, be composed of Turks, Kurds, Greeks, Kizilbashis, Lazes and others, as well as Armenians. The conflicting territorial desires of Armenians, Turks, Kurds and Greeks along the boundaries assigned to my arbitral decision could not always be harmonized. In such cases it was my belief that consideration of healthy economic life for the future state of Armenia should be decisive. Where, however, the requirements of a correct geographic boundary permitted, all mountain and valley districts along the border which were predominantly Kurdish or Turkish have been left to Turkey rather than assigned to Armenia, unless trade relations with definite market towns threw them necessarily into the Armenian state. Wherever information

upon tribal relations and seasonal migrations was obtainable, the attempt was made to respect the integrity of tribal groupings and nomad pastoral movements.

From the Persian border southwest of the town of Kotur the boundary line of Armenia is determined by a rugged natural barrier of great height, extending south of Lake Van and lying southwest of the Armenian cities of Bitlis and Mush. This boundary line leaves as a part of the Turkish state the entire Sandjak of Hakkiari, or about one-half of the Vilayet of Van, and almost the entire Sandjak of Sairt. The sound physiographic reason which seemed to justify this decision was further strengthened by the ethnographic consideration that Hakkiari and Sairt are predominently Kurdish in population and economic relations. It did not seem to the best interest of the Armenian state to include in it the upper valley of the Great Zab River, largely Kurdish and Nestorian Christian in population and an essential element of the great Tigris river irrigation system of Turkish Kurdistan and Mesopotamia. The control of these headwaters should be kept, wherever possible, within the domain of the two interested states, Turkey and Mesopotamia. For these reasons the Armenian claim upon the upper valley of the Great Zab could not be satisfied.

The boundary upon the west from Bitlis and Mush northward to the vicinity of Erzingan lies well within Bitlis and Erzerum vilayets. It follows a natural geographic barrier, which furnishes Armenia with perfect security and leaves to the Turkish state an area which is strongly Kurdish. Armenian villages and village nuclei in this section, such as Kighi and Temran, necessarily remain Turkish because of the strong commercial and church ties which connect them with Kharput rather [than] with any Armenian market and religious centers which lie within Bitlis or Erzerum vilayets. This decision seemed an unavoidable consequence of the inclusion of the city and district of Kharput in the Turkish state as determined by Article 27 II (4) and Article 89 of the Treaty of Sevres.

From the northern border of the Dersim the nature and the direction of the frontier decision was primarily dependent upon the vital question of supplying an adequate access to the sea for the state of Armenia. Upon the correct solution of this problem depends, in my judgment, the future economic well-being of the entire population, Turkish, Kurdish, Greek, Armenian, or Yezîdi, in those portions of the vilayets of Erzerum, Bitlis and Van which lie within the state of Armenia. I was not unmindful of the desire of the Pontic Greeks, submitted to me in a memorandum similar, no doubt, in argument and content to that presented to the Supreme Council last March at its London Conference, that the unity of the coastal area of the Black sea inhabited by them be preserved and that arrangements be made for an autonomous administration for the region stretching from Riza to a point west of Sinope. The arbitral jurisdiction assigned to me by Article 89 of the Treaty of Sevres does not include the possibility of decision or recommendation by me upon the question of their desire for independence, or failing that, for autonomy. Nor does it include the right to deal with the littoral of the independent Sandjak of Djanik or of the Vilayet of Kastamuni into which extends the region of the unity and autonomy desired by the Pontic Greeks.

Three possible courses lay open to me: to so delimit the boundary that the whole of Trebizond Vilayet would lie within Turkey, to grant it in its entirety to Armenia, or to grant a part of it to Armenia and leave the remainder to Turkey. The majority of the population of Trebizond Vilayet is incontestably Moslem and the Armenian element, according to all prewar estimates, was undeniably inferior numerically to the Greek portion of the Christian minority. Against a decision so clearly indicated on ethnographic grounds weighed heavily the future of Armenia. I could only regard the question in the light of the needs of a new political entity, Armenia, with mingled Moslem and Christian populations, rather than as a question of the future of the Armenians alone. It has been and is now increas-

ingly my conviction that the arrangements providing for Armenia's access to the sea must be such as to offer every possibility for the development of this state as one capable of reassuming and maintaining that useful role in the commerce of the world which its geographic position, athwart a great historic trade route, assigned to it in the past. The civilization and the happiness of its mingled population will largely depend upon the building of railways and the increased accessibility of the hinterland of the three vilayets to European trade and cultural influences.

Eastward from the port of Trebizond along the coast of Lazistan no adequate harbor facilities are to be found and the rugged character of the Pontic range separating Lazistan Sandjak from the Vilayet of Erzerum is such as to isolate the hinterland from the coast so far as practicable railway construction is concerned. The existing caravan route from Persia across the plains of Bayazid and Erzerum, which passes through the towns of Baiburt and Gumush-khana and debouches upon the Black Sea at Trebizond, has behind it a long record of persistent usefulness.

These were the considerations which have forced me to revert to my original conviction that the town and harbor of Trebizond must become an integral part of Armenia. Because of the still greater adaptability of the route of the Karshut valley, ending at the town of Tireboli, for successful railway construction and operation I have deemed also essential to include this valley in Armenia, with enough territory lying west of it to insure its adequate protection. I am not unaware that the leaders of the Armenian delegations have expressed their willingness to renounce claim upon that portion of Trebizond Vilayet lying west of Surmena. Commendable as is their desire to avoid the assumption of authority over a territory so predominantly Moslem, I am confident that, in acquiescing in their eagerness to do justice to the Turks and Greeks in Trebizond I should be doing an irreparable injury to the future

of the land of Armenia and its entire population, of which they will be a part.

It was upon such a basis, Mr. President, that the boundaries were so drawn as to follow mountain ridges west of the city of Erzingan to the Pontic range and thence to the Black Sea, in such a way as to include in Armenia the indentation called Zephyr Bey. The decision to leave to Turkey the harbor towns and hinterland of Kerasun and Ordu in Trebizond Sandjak was dictated by the fact that the population of this region is strongly Moslem and Turkish and that these towns are the outlets for the easternmost sections of the Turkish vilayet of Sivas. The parts of Erzerum and Trebizond Vilayets which, by reason of this delimitation, remain Turkish rather than become Armenian comprise approximately 12,120 square kilometers.

In the matter of demilitarization of Turkish territory adjacent to the Armenian border as it has been broadly described above, it seemed both impracticable and unnecessary to establish a demilitarized zone which would require elaborate prescriptions and complex agencies for their execution. Fortunately, Article 177 of the Treaty of Sevres prescribes the disarming of all existing forts throughout Turkey. Articles 159 and 196-200 provide in addition agencies entirely adequate to meet all the dangers of disorder which may arise along the borders, the former by the requirement that a proportion of the officers of the gendarmerie shall be supplied by the various Allied or neutral Powers, the latter by the establishment of a Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control and Organization. In these circumstances the only additional prescriptions which seemed necessary and advisable were that the Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control and Organization should, in conformity with the powers bestowed upon it by Article 200 of the Treaty, select the superior officers of the gendarmerie to be stationed in the vilayets of Turkey lying contiguous to the frontiers of Armenia solely from those officers who will be detailed by the Allied or neutral Powers in accordance with

Article 159 of the Treaty; and that these officers, under the supervision of the Military Inter-Allied Commission of Organization and Control, should be especially charged with the duty of preventing military preparations directed against the Armenian frontier.

It is my confident expectation that the Armenian refugees and their leaders, in the period of their return into the territory thus assigned to them, will by refraining from any and all forms of reprisals give to the world an example of that high moral courage which must always be the foundation of national strength. The world expects of them that they give every encouragement and help within their power to those Turkish refugees who may desire to return to their former homes in the districts of Trebizond, Erzerum, Van and Bitlis remembering that these peoples, too, have suffered greatly. It is my further expectation that they will offer such considerate treatment to the Laz and the Greek inhabitants of the coastal region of the Black Sea, surpassing in the liberality of their administrative arrangements, if necessary, even the ample provisions for non-Armenian racial and religious groups embodied in the Minorities Treaty signed by them upon August 10th of this year, that these peoples will gladly and willingly work in completest harmony with the Armenians in laying firmly the foundation of the new Republic of Armenia.

I have the honor to submit herewith the text of my decision.

Accept (etc.)

Woodrow Wilson

Washington, November 22, 1920.

Decision of President Wilson

Respecting the Frontier Between Turkey and Armenia, Access for Armenia to the Sea, and the Demilitarization of Turkish Territory Adjacent to the Armenian Frontier

WOODROW WILSON, President of the United States,

to Whom it shall Concern,

Greeting:

Whereas, on April 26, 1920, the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers, in conference at San Remo, addressed to the President of the United States of America an invitation to act as arbitrator in the question of the boundary between Turkey and Armenia, to be fixed within the four Vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van, and Bitlis;

And whereas, on May 17, 1920, my acceptance of this invitation was telegraphed to the American Ambassador in Paris, to be conveyed to the Powers represented on the Supreme Council;

And whereas, on August 10, 1920, a Treaty of Peace was signed at Sevres by Plenipotentiary Representatives of the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, and of Armenia, Belgium, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, and Czecho-Slovakia, of the one part; and of Turkey, of the other part, which Treaty contained, among other provisions, the following:

"*ARTICLE* 89. *Turkey and Armenia as well as the other High Contracting Parties agree to submit to the arbitration of the President of the United States of America the question of the frontier to be fixed between Turkey and Armenia in the Vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and to accept his decision thereupon, as well as any stipulations he may prescribe as to access for Armenia to the sea, and as to the demilitarization of any portion of Turkish territory adjacent to the said fronties;*"

And whereas, on October 18, 1920, the Secretariat General of the Peace Conference, acting under the instructions of the Allied Powers, transmitted to me, through the Embassy of the United States of America in Paris, an authenticated copy of the above mentioned Treaty, drawing attention to the said Article 89;

Now, therefore I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United

States of America, upon whom has thus been conferred the authority of arbitrator, having examined the question in the light of the most trustworthy information available, and with a mind to the highest interests of justice, do hereby declare the following decision:

I

The frontier between Turkey and Armenia in the Vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van, and Bitlis, shall be fixed as follows:

1. The initial point* shall be chosen on the ground at the junction of the Turkish-Persian frontier with the eastern termination of the administrative boundary between the Sandjaks of Van and Hakkiari, of the Vilayet of Van, as this administrative boundary appears upon the Bashkala sheet of the Turkish map, scale 1:200,000, editions published in the Turkish financial years 1330 and 1331 (1914-15). From this initial point the boundary shall extend southwestward to the western peak of Merkezer Dagh, situated about 6 kilometers westward from point 3350 (10,990 feet), about 2 kilometers southeastward from the village of Yokary Ahvalan, and approximately 76 kilometers southeastward from the city of Van.

the sandjak boundary specified above, then the administrative boundary between the Kazas of Mamuret-ul-Hamid and Elback, then the same sandjak boundary specified above, all modified, where necessary, to follow the main water-parting between the Zap Su (Great Zab River) and the Khoshab Su, and dividing equably the summits of the passes Krdes Gedik and Chokh Gedik;

then northwestward about 28 kilometers to Klesiry Dagh,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings between the Khoshab Su and the streams flowing into the Shatak Su, and traversing the pass south of the village of Yokary Ahvalan, and passing through Shkolans Dagh (3,100 meters or 10,170 feet) and the Belereshuk pass;

thence southwestward to the junction of an unnamed stream

* It is my understanding that this initial point will lie upon the former Turkish-Persian frontier referred to in the Article 27 II (4) of the Treaty of Sevres; but 40 miles of the said frontier, within which the initial point of the Armenian frontier is included, were left undemarcated by the Turko-Persian Frontier Commission in 1914. The initial point contemplated lies about 1 kilometer southward from the village of Kara Hissa and approximately 25 kilometers southwestward from the village of Kotur, and may be fixed on the ground as near this location as the Boundary Commission shall determine, provided it lies at the junction of the Van-Hakkiari Sandjak boundary with the frontier of Persia.

with the Shatak Su at a point about 10 kilometers southward from the village of Shatak,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, and passing through Koh Kiran Daghlar, Sari Dagh (3150 meters or 10,335 feet), Kevmetala Tepe (3,500 meters or 11,480 feet), point 3,540 (11,615 feet), in such a way as to leave to Armenia the village of Eyreti, and to Turkey the village of Araz, and to cross the Shatak Su at least 2 kilometers southward from the village of Dir Mouem Kilisa;

thence westward to the point where the Bitlis-Van Vilayet boundary reaches the Moks Su from the west, situated about 18 kilometers southward from the village of Moks.

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Armenia the villages of Kachet, Sinpass, and Ozim, passing through Kanisor Tepe (3,245 meters or 10,645 feet), an unnamed peak about 3 kilometers southward from Arnus Dagh (3,550 meters or 11,645 feet), crossing an unnamed stream about 2 kilometers southward from the village of Sinpass, passing through point 3,000 (9,840 feet), following the boundary between the Vilayets of Van and Bitlis for about 3 kilometers southwestward from this point and continuing southwestward on the same ridge to an unnamed peak about 2 kilometers eastward from Moks Su, and then descending to this stream;

thence northward to an unnamed peak on the boundary between the Vilayets of Van and Bitlis about 3 kilometers westward from the pass at Mata Gedik,

the administrative boundary between the Vilayets of Van and Bitlis, modified south of Vankin Dagh (3,200 meters or 10,500 feet) to follow the main water-parting;

thence westward to the peak Meidan Chenidiani, situated on the boundary between the Sandjaks of Bitlis and Sairt about 29 kilometers southeastward from the city of Bitlis,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, passing through Veberhan Dagh (3,110 meters or 10,200 feet), crossing the Kesan Dere about 2 kilometers southward from the village of Khoros, leaving to Turkey the villages of Semhaj and Nevaleyn as well as the bridge or ford on the trail between them,

and leaving to Armenia the village of Chopans and the trail leading to it from the northeast;

thence westward to the Guzel Dere Su at a point about 23 kilometers southward from the city of Bitlis and about 2 kilometers southward from Nuri Ser peak (2,150 meters or 7,050 feet),

the administrative boundary between the Sandjaks of Bitlis and Sairt, and then, a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, and passing through points 2,750 and 2,700 of Kur Dagh (9,020 and 8,860 feet respectively), Biluki Dagh (2,230 meters or 7,315 feet), and Sihaser Tepe (2,250 meters or 7,380 feet);

thence westward to the junction of the Bitlis Su and the unnamed stream near the village of Deshtumi, about 30 kilometers southwestward from the city of Bitlis,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Turkey the villages of Lered and Daruni, and to Armenia the village of Enbu and all portions of the trail leading northeastward to the Bitlis Su from Mergelu peak (1,850 meters or 6,070 feet), and passing through Mergelu Tepe and Shikh Tabur ridge;

thence westward to the Zuk (Gharzan) Su at the point about 11 kilometers northeastward from the village of Hazo and approximately 1 kilometer upstream from the village of Zily,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Armenia the village of Deshtumi, passing through the eastern peak of Kalmen Dagh (2,710 meters or 8,890 feet) and continuing in such a manner as to leave to Armenia the upland *dolina,* or basin of interior drainage, to traverse the pass about 3 kilometers westward from the village of Avesipy, passing through Shelash Dagh (1,944 meters or 6,380 feet);

thence westward to the Sassun Dere at a point about 4 kilometers southwestward from the village of Kabil Jeviz and approximately 47 kilometers southward from the city of Mush,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings through Cheyardash peak (2,001 meters or 6,565 feet), Keupeka peak (1,931 meters or 6,335 feet), an unnamed peak on the Sassun Dagh about 4 kilometers southwestward from Malato Dagh (2,967 meters or 9,735 feet), point 2,229 (7,310 feet), and leaving to Turkey the village of Gundenu;

thence northwestward to the Talury Dere at a point about 2 kilometers upstream from the village of Kasser and approximately 37 kilometers northeastward from the village of Seylevan (Farkin),

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings and passing through an unnamed peak about 2 kilometers eastward from the village of Seyluk, and through point 2,073 (6,800 feet), leaving to Armenia the village of Heyshtirem;

thence northwestward to the western tributary of the Talury Dere at a point about 2 kilometers eastward from the village of Helin and approximately 42 kilometers southwestward from the city of Mush,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, and passing through point 2,251 (7,385 feet);

thence northwestward to the junction of the Kulp Boghazy (Kulp Su) and Askar Dere, approximately 42 kilometers southwestward from city of Mush,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings leaving to Turkey the village of Helin and to Armenia the village of Kehirvanik;

thence northwestward to a point on the administrative boundary between the Sandjaks of Gendj and Mush northeast of Mir Ismail Dagh, and situated about 5 kilometers westward from the village of Pelekoz, and approximately 19 kilometers southward from the village of Ardushin,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, and passing through the Komiss Dagh;

thence northwestward to the Frat Nehri (Murad Su, or Euphrates) at a point to be determined on the ground about 1 kilometer upstream from the village of Dorne and approximately 56 kilometers westward from the city of Mush,

the administrative boundary between the Sandjaks of Gendj and Mush northward for about 2 kilometers, then a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings westward to an unnamed peak approximately 6 kilometers east of Chutela (Akche Kara) Dagh (2,940 meters or 9,645 feet), then northward passing through Hadije Tepe on Arshik Dagh, leaving to Turkey the village of Kulay and to Armenia the village of Kluhuran;

thence northwestward to the Gunik Su at a point about midway between two trails crossing this river about half way between the villages of Elmaly and Chenajki, and approximately 26 kilometers northeastward from the village of Cholik (Chevelik),

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, passing through an unnamed peak about 2 kilometers westward from the village of Shanghar, along Solkhan Dagh, and through point 2,200 (7,220 feet), leaving to Turkey the villages of Shanghar and Chenajky, and to Armenia the villages of Kumistan, Lichinak, and Elmaly;

thence northwestward to the boundary between the Vilayets of Erzerum and Bitlis at an unnamed peak near where a straight line between the villages of Erchek and Agha Keui would intersect said vilayet boundary,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, passing through point 2,050 (6,725 feet);

thence northward to an unnamed peak on said vilayet boundary about 8 kilometers northwestward from Kartalik Tepe on the Choris Dagh,

the administrative boundary between the vilayets of Erzerum and Bitlis;

thence westward to the Buyuk Su (Kighi Su) at a point about 2 kilometers upstream from the junction of the Ghabzu Dere with it, and approximately 11 kilometers northwestward from the village of Kighi,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings of the Sheitan Daghlar, passing through points 2,610 (8,565 feet), Sheitan Dagh (2,906 meters or 9,535 feet), Hakstun Dagh, and leaving to Armenia the village of Dinek and the ford or bridge southwest of this village;

thence westward to the Dar Boghaz (Kuttu Dere) at a point about 3 kilometers southward from the village of Chardaklar (Palumor),

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Armenia the villages of Shorakh and Ferhadin, passing through Ghabarti Dagh (2,550 meters or 8,365 feet), Sian Dagh (2,750 meters or 9,020 feet), the 2,150 meter pass on the Palumor-Kighi trail near Mustapha Bey Konaghy, Feziria Tepe

(2,530 meters or 8,300 feet), point 2,244 (7,360 feet) and point 2,035 (6,675 feet);

thence westward to the point common to the boundaries of the Sandjaks of Erzingan and Erzerum and the Vilayet of Mamuret-ul-Aziz, situated at a sharp angle in the vilayet boundary, approximately 24 kilometers westward from the village of Palumor and 32 kilometers southeastward from the city of Erzingan,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, and passing northwestward through an unnamed peak about 2 kilometers southwestward from Palumor, through Silos (Kersinod) Dagh (2,405 meters or 7,890 feet) to an unnamed peak on the southern boundary of the Sandjak of Erzingan, about 8 kilometers southwestward from the Palumor-Erzingan pass, then turning southwestward along said Sandjak boundary for nearly 13 kilometers, passing through Karaja Kaleh (3,100 meters or 10,170 feet);

thence westward to an unnamed peak on the boundary between the Vilayets of Erzerum and Mamuret-ul-Aziz about 3 kilometers northeastward from the pass on the trail across the Monzur Silsilesi between Kemakh on the Euphrates and Pelur in the Dersim, the peak being approximately 40 kilometers southwestward from the city of Erzingan,

the administrative boundary between the vilayets of Erzerum and Mamuret-ul-Aziz, modified,* in case of a majority of the voting members of the Boundary Commission deem it wise, to follow the main water-parting along the ridge between an unnamed peak about 2 kilometers southwest of Merjan Daghlar (3,449 meters or 11,315 feet) and Katar Tepe (3,300 meters or 10,825 feet);

thence northward to the Frat Nehri (Kara Su, or Euphrates) at

* At the locality named, the vilayet boundary (according to Khozat-Dersim sheet of the Turkish General Staff map, scale 1:200,000) descends the northern slope of the Monzur-Silsilesi for about 7 kilometers. The junction of the boundary between the Kazas of Erzingan and Kemakh in Erzingan Sandjak of Erzerum Vilayet with the boundary of Dersim Sandjak of Mamuret-ul-Aziz Vilayet lies within 14 kilometers of the Euphrates River. This leaves to Turkey a military bridgehead north of an 11,000 foot mountain range and only 20 kilometers south of the city of Erzingan. I am not empowered to change the administrative boundary at this point, and these 40 square kilometers of territory lie outside the four vilayets specified in Article 89 of the Treaty of Sevres.

However, I venture to call the attention of the Boundary Commission to the desirability of consulting the local inhabitants with a view to possible modification of the vilayet boundary at this point.

a point to be determined on the ground about 6 kilometers eastward from the village of Kemakh and approximately 35 kilometers southwestward from the city of Erzingan,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Turkey the trail from Pelur in the Dersim to Kemakh on the Euphrates, and to Armenia the village of Koja Arbler;

thence, northward to the boundary between the vilayets of Erzerum and Trebizond at a point to be determined about 1 kilometer west of peak 2,930 (2,630 or 8,625 feet) and about 4 kilometers southward from the village of Metkut, or approximately 39 kilometers northwestward from the city of Erzingan,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Turkey the villages of Chalghy Yady, Toms, and Alamlik, and to Armenia the village of Erkghan and the road and col south of the village of Metkut, passing through Utch Kardash Tepe, Kelek Kiran (Tekke Tash, 2,800 meters or 9,185 feet), Kehnam Dagh (or Kara Dagh, 3,030 meters or 9,940 feet), dividing equably between Armenia and Turkey the summit of the pass about 2 kilometers westward from the village of Zazker and, similarly, the summit of the pass of Kral Kham Boghazy near the village of Chardakli, passing through point 2,760 on Kara Dagh (9,055 feet), point 2,740 (8,990 feet), and a point to be determined on the ground, situated near the Iky Sivry stream less than 2 kilometers westward from the Chimen Dagh pass, and located in such a manner as to leave to Turkey the junction of the two roads leading westward to the villages of Kuchi Keui and Kara Yayrak, and to Armenia the junction of two other roads leading to the villages of Metkut and Kirmana; the Boundary Commission shall determine in the field the most equable disposition of the highway between points 2,760 and 2,740;

thence northwestward to the Kelkit Chai (Kelkit Irmak) at the point where the boundary between the Vilayets of Trebizond and Sivas reaches it from the south,

the administrative boundary between the Vilayets of Trebizond and Erzerum, and then the administrative boundary between the Vilayets of Trebizond and Sivas;

thence northward to an unnamed peak on the boundary between

the Vilayets of Trebizond and Sivas about 4 kilometers southwestward from Borgha Paya (2,995 meters or 9,825 feet) the latter being situated approximately 38 kilometers southwestward from the city of Gumush-Khana,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Armenia the villages of Halkit, Sinanli, Kiliktin, and Kirtanos; and to Turkey the villages of Kar Kishla, Sadik, Kara Kia, and Ara, crossing the pass between the western tributaries of the Shiran Chai and the eastern headwaters of the Barsak Dere (Kara Chai) about 43 kilometers eastward from the city of Karahissar Sharki (Shebin Karahissar);

thence northeastward, northward, and westward to an unnamed peak on the boundary between the Vilayets of Trebizond and Sivas situated about 7 kilometers northwestward from Yerchi Tepe (2,690 meters or 8,825 feet) and approximately 47 kilometers south southeastward from the city of Kerasun,

the administrative boundary between the Vilayets of Trebizond and Sivas;

thence northward, from the point last mentioned, on the crest of the Pontic Range, to the Black Sea, at a point to be determined on the seacoast about 1 kilometer westward from the village of Keshab, and approximately 9 kilometers eastward from the city of Kerasun,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Turkey the fields, pastures, forests, and villages within the drainage basin of the Komit Dere (Ak Su) and its tributaries; and to Armenia the fields, pastures, forests, and villages within the drainage basins of the Yaghaj Dere (Espiya Dere) and the Venazit Dere (Keshab Dere) and their tributaries, and drawn in such a manner as to utilize the boundary between the Kazas of Tripoli (Tireboli) and Kerasun in the 7 kilometers just south of Kara Tepe (1,696 meters or 5,565 feet), and to provide the most convenient relationships between the new frontier and the trails along the ridges, as these relationships may be determined by the Boundary Commission in the field after consultation with the local inhabitants.

2. In case of any discrepancies between the text of this Decision and the maps on the scales of 1:1,000,000 and 1:200,000 annexed, the text will be final.

The limits of the four vilayets specified in Article 89 of the Treaty of Sevres are taken as of October 29, 1914.

The frontier, as described above, is drawn in red on an authenticated map on the scale of 1:1,000,000 which is annexed to the present Frontier Decision. The geographical names here mentioned appear upon the maps accompanying this text.

The chief authorities used for the names of geographical features, and of elevations of mountains, and the location of vilayet, sandjak, and kaza boundaries, are the Turkish General Staff map, scale 1:200,000, and, in part, the British map, scale 1:1,000,000.

The maps on the scale of 1:200,000 are recommended to the Boundary Commission, provided in Article 91, for their use in tracing on the spot the portion of the frontiers of Armenia established by this Decision.

II

The frontier described above, by assigning the harbor of Trebizond and the valley of Karshut Su to Armenia, precludes the necessity of further provision for access for Armenia to the sea.

III

In addition to the general provisions for the limitation of armaments, embodied in the Military, Naval and Air Clauses, Part V of the Treaty of Sevres, the demilitarization of Turkish territory adjacent to the frontier of Armenia as above established shall be effected as follows:

The Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control and Organization provided for in Articles 196-200 of the Treaty of Sevres shall appoint the superior officers of the gendarmerie stationed in those vilayets of Turkey lying contiguous to the frontiers of the state of Armenia exclusively from the officers to be supplied by the various Allied or neutral Powers according to Article 159 of the said Treaty.

These officers shall, in addition to their other duties, be especially charged with the task of observing and reporting to the Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control and Organization upon any tendencies within these Turkish vilayets toward military aggression against the Armenian frontier, such as building strategic railways

and highways, the establishment of depots of military supplies, the creation of military colonies, and the use of propaganda dangerous to the peace and quiet of the adjacent Armenian territory. The Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control and Organization shall thereupon take such action as is necessary to prevent the concentrations and other aggressive activities enumerated above.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in duplicate at the city of Washington on the twenty-second day of November, one thousand nine hundred and twenty, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-fifth.

(SEAL)

WOODROW WILSON

By the President:
BAINBRIDGE COLBY,
Secretary of State.

Appendix B

The Case of the Armenian People

Memorandum to the United Nations Conference
On International Organization
In San Francisco

Respectfully Submitted by the
Armenian National Council of America

The Armenian National Council of America as Spokesman

The Armenian National Council of America, which is comprised of and supported by all the Armenian civic, social, cultural and religious organizations in the United States, except a small fascist faction known as the Dashnags,* presents the case of the Armenian people to the delegations of the United Nations Conference on International Organization assembled in San Francisco.

The Armenian people have a claim at the bar of international justice. They demand the righting of the grievous wrong done to them for centuries, a wrong which continues to the present day.

The Historical Perspective of the Case of the Armenian People

The Armenian case possesses a special significance by virtue of the long and noble history and the contributions to world civilization and culture of the Armenian people. The Armenians are one of the few ancient peoples of the world who have survived to the present day. Their history goes back to the

* Who have presented themselves to this Conference as the "Armenian National Committee."

very beginnings of civilization on the plains of Mesopotamia. They were organized into a strong political state in very early times, and had important ties with the great states and empires of the ancient world. Through their long history they have demonstrated that they are a freedom-loving people. They were among the pioneers of the civilization and culture which the modern world inherited from the ancient world. They were the first nation to accept Christianity. Ever since then they have stood as a bulwark against the invading hordes from the interiors of Asia.

Against a background such as this the claim of the Armenian people deserves special consideration at the bar of international justice.

The Advent of the Terrible Turk in History

It is a notorious fact in history that the Turks, ever since their appearance in the Near East, the Balkans, and Central Europe, maintained their rule over the countries they overran through a system of ruthless, calculated, sustained terror. Against Christian peoples especially, their wrath was loosed with unmitigated fury. Over them they imposed and maintained their rule through such instruments of terror and domination as periodic massacres, officially sanctioned lootings, discriminatory taxations, deportations, starvation, disease, rape, abduction, prohibition of the use of native tongues, and the abrogation of other fundamental political and civic rights. The long, black record of the terrible Turk is there for all to see. No word of apology can expunge one single line from its bloody pages.

Armenians Singled Out as the Object of a Particularly Vicious Persecution

The Armenians were singled out as the object of a particularly vicious persecution. Among the reasons for this may be mentioned the strategic position of their land between continents, their superior culture and historical background, their love of creative labor, their resourcefulness and perseverance,

and their devotion to the ideals of freedom and independence.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century the persecution to which the Armenians were subjected by the Turks took on serious proportions. Massacres which hitherto had been a periodic occurrence in scattered communities were put on a schedule on a nationwide scale. In the two years 1895 and 1896 hundreds of thousands of Armenians were put to the sword throughout the length and breadth of Turkish Armenia. Even in 1908, when Turkey took on some of the trappings of democracy, the massacres continued in many localities all the way from Van to Cilicia.

During the first World War Turkish barbarism sank to its lowest and most hideous depths. Goaded and guided by the Germans, who saw in the Armenians the one effective obstruction to their political and economic ambitions in the Ottoman Empire, the Turks conceived and attempted to carry into execution the total extermination of the Armenian people. And they almost succeeded in doing so. Through deportations, starvation, disease, and outright slaughter they succeeded in reducing by more than one-half the Armenian population in the Armenian provinces of Turkey — a net loss of more than one million souls. Those who survived found themselves poverty-stricken, homeless immigrants in Iran, Iraq, Syria, the Lebanon, Egypt, Greece, Bulgaria, Roumania, France, and the Americas. Today there are a million and a half Armenians from Turkish Armenia in these countries who, with few exceptions and despite the generous efforts of their host countries to rehabilitate them, are still refugees looking forward to the day when they will be united in the historic land of their forefathers to work out their salvation and make their distinctive contribution to the life of the world.

The Armenians and the Allies of World War I

It is worthy of note that Armenians did not resign to the fate meted out to them by the Turks. They fought back. The history of their heroic resistance in many sections of the country

forms one of the glorious chapters in the annals of our people. They brought their moral and material support to the cause of the Allies. Their sons enlisted by the thousands in the Allied armies and distinguished themselves in the battles against the armies of the common foe.

The Allies, in return for the contributions which the Armenian people brought to the great cause of freedom and democracy, promised their liberation and their establishment as an independent state. And in accordance with that promise the Supreme Allied Council authorized President Woodrow Wilson to draw the boundaries of a free and independent Armenia. Wilson's boundaries were accepted by all the signatories of the Treaty of Sevres, including Turkey.

The Treaty of Sevres, however, was never enforced. One after another the sacred promises solemnly made to the Armenians were forgotten or sacrificed to the selfish interests of powerful states. That would have been the end, the final act of the tragedy of the Armenian people, had not the great Russian people and the other peoples of the U.S.S.R. come to the rescue and salvaged something out of what otherwise would have been total ruin and annihilation.

The Armenians and the United Nations of World War II

During World War II the Armenians once more gave proof of their devotion to democracy and the cause of the United Nations. They fought once more with distinction in the ranks of the armies of the United States and the United Nations. Fifty generals and over a quarter of a million Armenian soldiers of various ranks were in the Red Army alone. Armenian blood flowed once more, this time not for something which our people wished to possess, but for something which they already possessed and wished to protect.

"Can the Leopard Change Her Spots?"

And what did the now so-called republican Turks do in this late war for the liberation of the world from the threat of

Nazi tyranny? They sought shelter under the cloak of a spurious neutrality, extending meanwhile to the Nazis assistance of every description which lay within their power. They went further and shamelessly proclaimed their desire to see a German victory. And they continued to oppress and liquidate the few hundred thousand Armenians who were still living in their borders.

On What Matters Armenians of the Diaspora Do Not Speak

We, the Armenians who are living outside Soviet Armenia, do not presume to speak in the name of that republic, nor do we presume to dictate or outline her policies or interests. These are the singular rights of the people who live in Soviet Armenia. We can only express our appreciation to the great Russian people and the other peoples of the U.S.S.R. for giving our brothers in the land of our origin the opportunity to live again as a free and independent nation; to clear the debris of the oppression and destruction perpetrated for centuries; to transform their country once more to a *trakhdavayr,* that is, the land of paradise, as the Armenians put it; to reestablish a stable government of their own; to reorganize their social and economic life; and to revive and revivify the glorious culture of their forefathers.

On What Matters Armenians of the Diaspora Do Speak

There are certain things, however, concerning which we feel we have a right to speak, concerning which we feel we must speak. Our homeland where our forefathers lived since immemorial times, and where we ourselves lived until the years of the last World War, still constitutes a part of Turkey, while a million and a half Armenians live as enforced refugees and immigrants throughout the four corners of the earth. Even Mt. Ararat, the pride and glory of our people and the most expressive symbol of their hopes and aspirations for a thousand years,

remains under Turkish rule. Furthermore, this our homeland, the Armenian provinces of Turkey, are separated from the free and independent Republic of Soviet Armenia, where those of our brethren who are fortunate enough to be living have made a magnificent beginning in the revival and the reconstruction of Armenian national life. What would be more natural for Armenians outside that budding new land than to want to return to their homeland and join hands with their brethren. The time has come for the Armenia which is under Turkish rule to be joined to the existing free and independent Armenia within the bounds of the Soviet Union, and for opportunities to be granted Armenians abroad to return to their own homes and pastures, their cities and villages and live there their own lives.

Of all the Christian peoples who at some time or other in the past have been under the Turkish yoke, the Armenians are the only one who have as yet not secured their freedom and homeland from Turkey.

The Spirit of the Conference Is in Keeping with the Hopes and Aspirations of the Armenian People

We know that the Conference convened here in San Francisco is not delegated to settle questions relating to repatriation and the settlement of boundaries. Nonetheless, it is in keeping with the spirit of the Conference that we raise our voice on behalf of a question which has become the scandal of international relations for something like three-quarters of a century. We speak on behalf of a million and a half victims of a tyranny and a terror which neither in degree nor in extent differ from the vials of wrath which the Nazis poured in this war on the innocent and hapless peoples of Europe. And we speak on behalf of the just and constructive aspirations of a people who have every right to express the hope that this time they will not be made pawns on the international chessboard of power politics. We want no less than the joining of our historic land of Armenia still in Turkey to the existing state of free and

independent Armenia, and the repatriation there of all Armenians abroad who wish to go there. These are our reasonable and inalienable rights. So long as these aspirations of the Armenian people remain unrealized, so long will the Armenian people remain at odds with Turkey. Until a new justice is born out of the centuries-old injustice done to the Armenians, there can be no permanent peace between them and the Turks. The Armenian people want to live at peace with their neighbors, even with Turkey, and they believe that a just and honorable peace is in the interest of all parties concerned.

"To Serve Armenia Is to Serve Civilization"

It is no mean case which we present to this great and august Conference. It is a case which has drawn the respect and sympathy of such honorable and illustrious men as James Bryce, William Gladstone, Georges Clemenceau, Woodrow Wilson, Nikolay Lenin, Anatole France, Fridtjof Nansen, Jean Jaures, and Joseph Stalin. These men demonstrated by their deep interest in and active support of the case of Armenia that they agree in spirit with the words of one of them, William Gladstone, when he said, "To serve Armenia is to serve civilization." And the great Soviet Union has demonstrated irrefutably within the brief span of twenty-five years that to serve Armenia is indeed to serve civilization.

THE DELEGATION OF THE
ARMENIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA

Oksen Sarian, *Secretary* — Charles Aznakian Vertanes, *Executive Director*

Antranig Antreassian

Armand H. Gizir

Selected Bibliography

The bibliography in these pages was prepared with the needs and interests of the general reader in mind. It was selected mostly out of an extensive bibliography on Armenia of published and unpublished materials covering the years 1919 to 1946, which is now in preparation.

The selections were made on the basis of the length of the works, the general character of the topics discussed, and the breadth of the fields covered. Only where there was a lack of references which met these tests did the writer depart from these criteria, in order to keep a proper balance between the various parts of the bibliography. Even then an attempt was made not to include in it specialized works and material limited in scope, such as documents, public papers, treatises, monographs, reports, published addresses, unpublished manuscripts. These are of value primarily to historians, research workers, publicists, journalists, authors and others with specialized social, political and literary interests. The needs of this group will be met with the completion and publication of the extensive bibliography in preparation.

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BOUNDARY BETWEEN TURKEY AND ARMENIA AS DETERMINED BY WOODROW WILSON
General Map Accompanying President Wilson's Armenian Boundary Decision
Facsimile made in 1920 to accompany the boundary decision as printed in *Foreign Relations*, 1920, volume III, pp. 766f.

BOUNDARY BETWEEN TURKEY AND ARMENIA

AS DETERMINED BY

WOODROW WILSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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